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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:
<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.00013724>

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**Tracing Diaspora and Development over Time:
UK-based Chileans and their Transnational Engagements with Chile from the
1970s to the Present**

Chantal Radley

This thesis is submitted to The Open University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Development Studies

June 2021

Abstract

The Chilean diaspora in the UK has changed significantly since the 1970s. This research explores the knowledge gap that exists around the UK-based Chilean diaspora and its ongoing relationship to 'home' over a period which spans fifty years. From its exile origins to incorporating diverse types of migrants and taking on a considerably different form, this diaspora has evolved in parallel to Chile's trajectory from a low to high income country. The experience of the Chilean diaspora unsettles the positive discourse around diaspora and development, exposing the assumptions it is based upon and revealing how these concepts can look from a different perspective. Through a temporally driven analysis that brings together different types of migrant in a single field of study, meanings and interpretations of what development can be are investigated from the perspective of the diaspora itself. As a mature diaspora with a firmly historical and political basis, scrutiny over a significant time span reveals the effects of political and social change at 'home' on and within the diaspora and their transnational modes of organisation. This historical stance reveals changing dynamics between different cohorts as their relationship to Chile is reshaped over many years. Interactions between diaspora members reveal deep rooted legacies of past political conflict which affect behaviour and practices in the present, permeating the diaspora experience. Development is seen here to be contested, fluid and personal, reflecting people's migration experiences and life as part of diaspora space where the familiar is often simultaneously alien.

I dedicate this to James, William and Oliver, always together wherever we may end up, and to all those, like my family, who live between the places we call home.

Acknowledgements

Doing a PhD is a famously lonely and profoundly challenging road. Mine has taken me much longer than I thought it would and tested me in ways I had not foreseen. I started this in 2012 in the hope of regaining something that was mine, at a time and space in my life where that did not seem like much of a real possibility, and there have been many times in this process where it seemed like I would not be able to go on. Somehow though, I have, and it feels momentous to have reached this point. My supervisors, Giles Mohan, Parvati Raghuram and Ben Lampert have been incredibly supportive from the start. I must thank them, first of all, for taking me on as a student long before the days when doing everything via the internet was normal. In seven years, I have only met them in person three or four times. They allowed me to embark on this journey while living overseas, when other universities and potential supervisors made it seem impossible. The vagaries of attending classes and having supervisions via Skype were obstacles that they did not permit to get in my way. Having three supervisors might not always make for an easy relationship, however they worked constructively together and were an excellent and generous team. Each of them has given me something different and valuable, but they all helped me do my best to achieve something I can be proud of. Giles - thank you for always championing the lot of the part-time student, finding funds enabling me to attend conferences so that I could feel more connected, and smoothing the path at the OU when needed. Parvati - thank you for your empathy in understanding that life often gets in the way and for pushing me to think differently about things. Ben - thank you for allowing me to ask for help whenever I needed it and always having time to discuss matters. I appreciate all that the three of you have given me.

My love of Chile began many years ago when I was welcomed there by a family who have been pivotal in many ways. I must thank the Saccos for their incredibly generous friendship which instantly made me feel at home and helped me make sense of where I was. Our improbable introduction, through my Maltese aunt's Italian convent school friend to her husband's dead Argentinian cousin's cousin, did not diminish their enthusiasm for taking this student from far away into their home. Sabina, Flaminia,

Michele, Bruno and China, thank you for all the many years of friendship. To Andrea and Isidora, great friends I made that first year who have remained close, I hope we can spend more time together one day. So many Chileans were immensely generous with their time and assistance on this project. It is difficult to thank people properly when they must remain anonymous, but I must thank Rodrigo especially, for his patience in helping me with introductions to many of his friends and contacts, and talking over many of the themes in the project. I greatly appreciate everyone who took part in the interviews, giving me their insight and consideration so carefully. I must particularly thank the exiles who took part, telling me their story with great patience as some have told it several times before. In the UK, I want to particularly thank Jaime, Daniel, Manuel, Fabiana, Michele and Sabina. Thank you so much to Natalia, Patricia and Ana for your warmth and friendship. In Chile, Eduardo and his family, Gael, Rosa and Carlos were all immensely hospitable and gave me so much more than merely an interview. I thoroughly enjoyed the time I spent with you and appreciate all that you shared with me, in terms of your lives, perspectives and your insights into your country. Chilean government representatives, especially the Consul, were all helpful without exception and keen to support this research, for which I am very grateful.

Having lived overseas throughout most of the PhD, I have not had the benefit of fellow students to debate and commiserate with. In their place, I have had good friends who, over the years that I have lived in many different places, have stepped in and have helped me through the tough times. I must thank Liz White, without whose encouragement I would never have found the impetus to get started. To all the wonderful women at SHAPE who were there for endless cups of coffee around kitchen tables amidst the chaos of small children, deployments and the messy reality of constant moves in the lives we live, especially Steph, Rachael, Natasha, Michelle H, Kata, Vicky, Michelle M, Anita and Angela. To all my other SHAPE friends whether through the choir, conversation groups, cooking groups, language classes and all the other things we did – all of it meant so much and kept me going. Thanks to the many friends in Montgomery, Alabama who kept encouraging me throughout our time there, especially Allison, Natalie, Tessa, Amanda, Leah and Lissa. Campbell - you have always had

more faith in my abilities that I did myself. Thanks to you and Robyn for being such great friends to our family for so long. To Elly, long-time friend and ally, thanks for always being there. Your friendship means so much.

This research touched upon many issues that had more personal relevance that I had realised at the beginning. In the course of the years I spent reading, talking to people and reflecting on the themes I saw emerging, I was struck by how many of these concerns had impacted my own life, and that of my family. This journey has been one of both professional and personal growth in so many ways. My heartfelt thanks must go to my family who have been with me throughout. My parents, Margaret and Henry, for their endless encouragement and love always, and practical support in reading and advising on various chapters of the thesis. My grandparents, Victor and Mary, who I loved so dearly, pioneers in their fields, who were still here when I started this in 2012 but are no longer at the end. I know they would be so proud of this in its own right, and also because it honours my great uncle, George, and my cousin, Pierre, who both did such important work in migration. My brother, Robin, for the weekly chats and constant support always. My children, William and Oliver, who have grown up alongside this PhD – it has been a feature of our lives for almost as long as they can remember. Thank you for seeing me as someone with a life and purpose, as well as your Mum who loves you so much. I am so proud of you both for being incredibly insightful and resilient. To James, my husband, who has done his best to make space for me to pursue my own dreams, within the complicated life we lead. Thank you for supporting this throughout, for taking care of our family when I was away and for believing I could do it. You had faith in me when I couldn't and helped me keep going.

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Chapter One

Introduction

September 18th, 2014

The crowds were gathering in a bar under the looming shadow of St Paul's Cathedral. Usually the preserve of after work drinkers and city bankers, today the clientele was rather different. The red, white and blue flag bunting tacked up on the door frame and the two smiling, animated woman collecting the entrance fee was a contrast to the usual burly bouncers who controlled entry. It was 6pm on Saturday afternoon and inside the venue, the scent of grilling anticuchos and frying empanadas wafted through the space tantalisingly. Children ran around inside trying out moves on the dance floor. Waves of recognition and excited reunions of friends and acquaintances who were meeting again after some time filled the air with rapid Spanish easily identified by its distinctive Chilean twang. Folk music with favourites like 'Chile Lindo' played by Los Huasos Quincheros provided the soundtrack to this most Chilean of days, the Independence Day celebrations. Little by little, couples joined the children on the dance floor, tentatively remembering their rusty cueca steps. The atmosphere was celebratory and lively which built as the party continued and more pisco was consumed. By the evening, the bar was packed with around 500 people. Families and couples had been joined by groups of young students and the music had moved onto other Latin American and '80s favourites that were so popular in Chile. The folklore group who had put on two shows to riotous enthusiasm of the crowd were taking a break and joining in the festivities which carried on till the early hours of the morning. What had started off as a Chilean Fonda style party had become a very Chilean night out with pounding music and dancing all until the small hours.

Across London, in a very different venue, was another September 18th party. The mood here was markedly different. Quieter and more sombre, the hall decorated with Chilean flags and bunting had about fifty people there, mostly elderly and some with their extended families in tow. All loyal supporters of Casa Chilena, they were joined by the

Ambassador and Consul of Chile with their wives. Here too, there were reunions of a different kind, the quiet pleasure of seeing old and loyal friends, a more bittersweet meeting of people who knew they may not see each other again. Many of their friends were already gone, some back to Chile and some passed away. Some were frail and needed assistance to enter the hall and be seated. Traditional folk music and some live singing and dance performances were the focus of this celebration. A glass of wine and two empanadas included in the ticket price were small tokens that tried to create a more festive atmosphere. Some of the younger and more energetic people danced competently throughout the evening though without a great deal of apparent enjoyment. They were joined on the dance floor at one point by the Ambassador and Consul. Though still supported year after year by its members, there was a sense of fatigue and lack of momentum. The political exiles and refugees who form the core of this group are ageing and many are no longer able to show as much enthusiasm for these celebrations. Their event had a palpable sense of sadness and loss.

1.1 Introduction

The Chilean diaspora in the UK today is made up of a diverse set of people with different histories that have led them to this place where they now live their lives. Widespread Chilean migration to the United Kingdom (and other countries) began in the 1970s amidst political conflict and the brutal effects of a military coup. A cohort of Chilean exiles made their 'home' in the UK at that time. There have been other migration flows in subsequent years, hence the different aspects of Chilean life in London which the vignettes above reveal. These migrants include a large cohort of postgraduate students on government funded scholarships and those who came to take up employment. For some people, life is enmeshed almost completely within the diaspora, but others' lives only touch its fringes, coming together with other Chileans on this day of celebration perhaps after many years. The disparate cohorts that have become part of the diaspora over fifty years represent a complex set of changing circumstances and divergent interests. Their celebrations reflect these different histories and allegiances, with some reviving memories of earlier days and others, focusing on

the present and looking to the future. The connections that different cohorts have produced and maintain with Chile are also distinctive, with some increasingly becoming an object of Chilean state engagement as it seeks diasporic contributions to development. This, in turn, reflects a global move to engage diasporas for the benefit of their countries of origin.

In the last twenty years, there has been a world-wide surge of interest in the idea of harnessing diasporas in the development of their homelands. Many different actors including the Global Forum for Migration and Development, International Organization for Migration, Migration Policy Institute, civil society organisations in the development field and national governments have increasingly acknowledged that diasporas have the capacity, the will and the connections to influence the development of their countries of origin (Agunias and Newland, 2012). The significant rise of attention globally to the potential benefits of migration for development has led to a proliferation of studies and policies emphasizing ‘win win win’ arguments for encouraging diaspora in development, whereby ‘host’ countries, ‘home’ countries and migrants all benefit (Brønden, 2012; de Haas, 2012, 2020; Glick Schiller, 2012, 2020; Skeldon 2012; Vammen and Brønden, 2012).

On the surface, diaspora-led development seems like an attractive and intuitive answer to many long-term problems that the professional development industry and governments have struggled to solve effectively. It has been swiftly enacted through a variety of programmes across the globe. It did not take long, however, before critics began to tease apart some of the issues inherent within this set of practices, revealing it to be riddled with assumptions and stereotypes that demonstrated an innate lack of understanding of diasporas and the diverse desires and practices through which they connect to ‘home’ (Bastia, 2013; Glick Schiller, 2020; Lampert, 2009, 2014; Mercer et al., 2008, 2009; Mohan, 2006, 2008; Page and Mercer, 2012; Raghuram, 2009). Despite the criticism, multilateral agencies and governments continue to operate programmes that seek to target diasporas and utilise their skills in the benefit of their ‘home’ country development. Most academic work and policy initiatives looking at links

between diaspora and development focuses on the poor countries of the Global South with a core interest in remittances, security and anti-poverty measures (Minto-Coy et al., 2019; Orozco, 2003, 2006; Welde et al., 2020; World Bank, 2016). Research relating to Latin America has looked at the specific relationship between particular countries, Mexico and the United States for example, where the diaspora is conceptualised and treated as a means of making development happen in the 'home' country (Agunias and Newland, 2012; Orozco, 2006).

Interest has focused primarily on economic remittances and the binary relationship between diaspora and the country of origin, leaving research gaps that are yet to be addressed. These include the nature of development in question, the diversity of diasporas and how a diaspora responds over time to changes at 'home' and elsewhere. First is the vital question of *meanings* - how much broader and more nuanced ideas of development and diaspora need to be discussed with relation to this model and how these meanings change over time. Second, there is a gap around understandings of *diversity* - the fact that a diaspora can be made up of different, distinct cohorts, with different relations and engagements with each other and 'home'. Third, a gap remains around the *dynamism of diaspora-development linkages* – how diaspora engagement with 'home' changes over time and flowing from this, how members of the diaspora encounter such change in terms of their experiences of diaspora life. This thesis will explore these three areas through the experiences of the UK-based Chilean diaspora from the 1970s to the present.

1.2 Framing the Problem

Instead of looking at a diaspora and studying their development activities from the perspective of a pre-determined model of how development should be, what happens if you look at this the other way round? Looking at development through the eyes and minds of a diaspora reveals how they think about these issues, showing what is important to them and why. This critical reframing is the basis for this thesis which takes the example of the UK-based Chilean diaspora to explore how notions of development

and links homeward are framed over the length of time in their new homeland, paralleling the growth of Chile into a developed country. The Chilean case demonstrates that it is necessary to work with broader definitions of development and diaspora, requiring a rethink of what these notions really mean. The Chileans in the UK are a diaspora whose lives here span Chile's development trajectory, and from which we can learn about diaspora-development links, the dynamics of which are often missed in homogenising framings of national diasporas. With the backdrop of Chile's path through different stages of development and changes in status from 'low' to 'middle' to 'high income', we can see how this has affected the lives of those in diaspora. In this sense, like other countries that have also moved up the income rankings, this study speaks to the wider issue of how the development dynamics of 'home' intersect with diaspora involvement. As such, this case offers the potential to question some of the thinking around diasporas and development, with both concepts typically formulated in ways that do not allow space for diasporic interpretations of them. It focuses attention on the types of political and social interchange that have emerged and changed over this time frame through the arrival of different cohorts and the interactions within and beyond the diaspora back to Chile. Demonstrating the need to centralise notions of temporality within studies of diaspora and development is an important contribution of this thesis.

Interest in work on diasporas and development has increased to span a wide range of inter disciplinary fields. Burgeoning attention in the economic power and leverage diasporas can provide to their networks back 'home' has produced a proliferation of studies and policy interventions to increase diasporic participation. Yet despite the increase of studies on diasporas around the globe, like other UK-based Latin American communities (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016), the Chilean diaspora in the UK as a whole remains largely invisible in academic research. The Chilean diaspora is a relatively small diaspora numerically and remains an enigma through which our only window is the slowly growing literature on the exiles and their descendants. Due to their long history here, there is a substantial body of work on the Chilean exile group, on the production and effects of political and social repression

(Kay, 1987; Wright and Oñate, 1998), the dynamics of exile and return (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011; López Zarzosa, 1998, 2011), attention to gender and the role of women (Gideon, 2018; Kay, 1987), the struggle to overthrow the junta (Shayne, 2009; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007), British and international support (Angell, 2001; Bowen, 2020; Hirsch, 2016b; Livingstone, 2020) and diaspora spaces (Ramírez, 2012, 2014; Ramirez and Serpente, 2012). The exiles are recognised as the visible face of Chileans in the UK. Their stories and lives have been documented to an extent through research, literature, film and other forms of record. Though this gives insight into the lives of exiles, it does not touch upon their existence as part of a wider diaspora, nor does it say much about their role in development back 'home'. The exiles and their descendants have unexplored dimensions to their lives which merit further examination.

This does not tell the whole story of the Chileans who have made their 'home' in the UK. The exiles are portrayed as a solitary group which is partly accurate, however this fails to situate them within their rightful context, the space of Chilean diaspora in the UK. This wider context has, to date, been empirically and theoretically bypassed, yet it reflects the reality of life today, changing the way we view Chilean exiles; not as an isolated group still dealing with their painful legacies, but more as part of a contested whole who are attempting to re-negotiate a relationship with a changing homeland. Other Chilean diasporans, including professionals, students and people from different classes and backgrounds, continue to be invisible against the visible profile of their exile compatriots. The Chilean diaspora, with a limited body of literature, therefore merits further research not least because it provides a novel empirical contribution to our knowledge of Chileans and Latin Americans in the UK. This new knowledge will add richness to understandings of the circumstances that diasporas from Latin American live through in the context of the UK. The lives of the exiles and others are entwined within this group - the Chilean diaspora, with a valuable contribution to make to our understanding of how diasporas live and evolve over time and how their relationship to their 'home' country changes in relation to the changing context there. The protests in Chile since October 2019 have revived British interest in Chile as they have exposed the inequalities within Chilean society to global scrutiny. These inequalities highlight one

of the key themes of this thesis, the continuing legacy of the past on the present and unresolved tensions related to the development path Chile has undergone. They also demonstrate that despite Chile's 'developed' and 'high income' status, there remain 'development' challenges that exercise people in Chile and in diaspora, as the issue of inequality is increasingly doing in many countries. Decades of policies instigated by the military government through a Chilean neoliberal development programme, coupled with the lack of constitutional reform post-dictatorship have led to the unstable situation we see today, where repressive police action, social unrest and violence still fills the streets and painful memories of the past are revived. For the UK-based diaspora, it has been a catalyst for action whether in solidarity or condemnation of the protests. Fifty years on, the echoes of the beginning of the diaspora trajectory remain as potent as ever.

This recent interest also highlights the necessary contribution that this research makes to debates on diasporas and the development of their countries of origin. Whilst the diaspora development model (and policy initiatives that constitute part of it) has sought to utilise the potential of diasporas to contribute to development back 'home', this involvement has mainly focused on lower income countries. In looking at Chile through the lens of diaspora and development debates, we have a country that in the relatively short time period in question has moved from a 'low income' to a 'high income' one, a major change. This is a change that other countries at the forefront of these debates have not seen in quite the same way. The Chilean case has wider relevance for how diaspora engagement might change as the development fortunes of the 'home' country change, even if in most other cases the change is from 'low' to 'middle' income. Chile's seismic shift in development status parallels the political and social changes in Chile during this period, however, this does not mean that major development issues such as inequality are no longer at play. This particular lens therefore illuminates the effects of this shift in the development status of the 'home' country on the evolution of this diaspora.

Furthermore, this research traces the trajectory of the evolution of this diaspora over a period of fifty years. In doing so, with temporality as a central principle, it reveals how diasporas change and reform themselves in response to changing circumstances both at 'home' and where they settle. Here, the diaspora experience is firmly situated in its historical context which demonstrates the importance of the passage of time in the life of a diaspora. The historical layering process which occurs shows how the exile experience still defines and haunts the diaspora today in all its diversity. This experience and the political legacy of the dictatorship continue to permeate and impact diasporans despite the efforts of some to silence and exclude this narrative. This research explores and unpicks the complex web of the present diasporic existence of those UK-based Chileans, revealing the course of time and its effects not as something that passes, but more as a phenomenon which is experienced in multiple ways during the present. In this research, the Chilean diaspora in the UK provides fertile territory to explore alternative ideas about diaspora and development to those frequently based on specific constructs and assumptions around the types of people who should engage or the types of countries that such initiatives tend to be directed at. This diaspora has unique characteristics and a specific historical and social pathway, enabling a different perspective. Chile and its UK-based diaspora have developed in parallel since the 1970s, affording the opportunity to question notions of development as seen through the eyes of this diaspora along this journey.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This thesis is organised into ten chapters. Following this introduction which lays out the conceptual and analytical basis for this research, Chapter Two comprises a literature review, providing a framework for this study of Chilean diaspora and their potentially developmental links to Chile. It critiques the relevant literature on diasporas and development, unpicking many of the assumptions within this discourse which are based on particular notions of development, pointing to ways of rethinking and reforming broader ideas of development, to be explored later in the thesis. It also looks at associated issues including different types of migrants, how certain categories are

treated separately to others, and the value of focusing on temporalities in diaspora and development, highlighting the gaps in these areas. Chapter Three sets the context for the migration of Chileans to the UK. It outlines key historical background and analyses the changes in Chile over the time period in question in terms of development. This permits scrutiny of the effects of these changes on the diaspora and its related activities. It carries out a review of the existing literature on the Chilean diaspora which is overwhelmingly focused on the exiles due to lack of research to date on the other cohorts. Chapter Four describes the methodology used to carry out this research which innovates in its design to get a sense of different types or categories of migrants within one study, embedding a temporal perspective throughout. Chapter Five explores the different cohorts of the diaspora, making this UK-based group visible for the first time in its entirety, while looking at people's motivations for leaving Chile and coming here. It is important to understand how this shapes their feelings towards and their connections with 'home', whilst underpinning divisions between cohorts. Chapter Six lays out the organisational landscape of the Chilean diaspora throughout its lifetime, considering the rationale for the existence of different organisations and how they operate as channels for connecting with Chile and engaging in its development. It looks at collective changes over time and the role that organisations play in individual lives, focusing on how people's lives intersect with the organisations at different points in time. It is important to understand to what extent organisations are important to different people and the different functions that organisations perform, in order to interpret their meaning and significance. Chapter Seven examines in depth the interactions within and between different cohorts of the diaspora, analysing the divisions apparent over the years particularly regarding how this affects relationships to 'home'. The divisions are analysed in terms of how they are expressed in respondents' narratives, and crucially, in terms of the causes that underpin them, to understand the importance of the persistence of the past in the present of diaspora dynamics. Chapter Eight analyses the links from the diaspora to Chile in all their various dimensions: personal, organisational and state-led. It identifies the motivations for diaspora activity and the meanings this holds for people.

Chapter Nine focuses on the complex, ever-changing relationship between the diaspora and the development path of Chile over these years, and what this can offer to our wider understanding of how diasporas and development interact in practice. Chapter Ten offers a conclusion to this study, bringing together the contributions this thesis has made, focusing on original empirical data on the Chilean diaspora, temporalities within diasporas in terms of the changing nature of 'home' and 'host' country and past histories at work within the present, juxtaposing the study of different types of migrants together and fore-fronting diasporic interpretations of what development means to them.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the rationale for this research and explained the conceptual and analytical background to it. It has pointed to the problems with the assumptions and binary limitations of the typical approaches to diaspora development and shown that early critiques have not moved these ideas forward significantly. The UK-based Chilean diaspora provides a particular opportunity to address the gaps identified in allowing a temporally long lens with which to trace its evolution and to unsettle those narrow definitions of diasporas and developments. In this diaspora's unique formation of different cohorts which arrived at different times and for different reasons, the juxtapositions of exiles, students and those who came for varied reasons reveal diverse and sometimes competing motivations for peoples' activities. Despite literature on Chilean exiles from the time of the dictatorship and their descendants, the lack of empirical data or literature about the UK-based Chilean diaspora as a whole means that so far they have remained largely invisible. This chapter has also shown the theoretical importance of this knowledge gap in adding to global debates on diaspora and development. This thesis studies a diaspora over a long period of time, demonstrating the effects of political and social change of the 'home' country on the diaspora. Within the wider context of diaspora and development, this study will contribute to it through analysing the path of a country from low to high income status, providing a contrast to most countries in this debate. It therefore contributes to our understanding of how concepts and experiences of development shift over time and are utilised by different

actors within and related to diasporas. In summary, this chapter has argued that the Chilean diaspora in the UK is of empirical and theoretical value as a lens through which to analyse and better understand how diaspora and development linkages change over time in relation to the country of origin.

Chapter Two

Decoding and Elucidating the Diaspora Development Paradigm: A Literature Review

In this chapter, I will consider the theory that underpins this research. This study explores the UK-based Chilean diaspora, taking a long view to analyse their relationship to 'home' in order to critically assess how their activities can be usefully understood through prevailing discourses of diaspora and development, and how studying their activities might encourage a critical reappraisal of these discourses. This framework seeks to move beyond the diaspora and development narrative and is open to diaspora interpretations of development, thus looking beyond classic preoccupations with remittances and focus on lower income countries. The large body of existing research on the diaspora and development paradigm, some of which focuses on its effectiveness as a model generally or on specific cases such as Mexico (de Haas, 2012; Orozco, 2006) and other work which critiques this paradigm (Glick Schiller, 2020; Mohan, 2006, 2008) does not explain the phenomena seen in the Chilean case. It is necessary therefore to incorporate other ideas and concepts, bringing in additional issues including forced migration, reconciliation processes, elite migrants, and temporality to assess the themes which emerge clearly in the data. Drawing together these issues which are not adequately incorporated in theoretical framings, a comprehensive foundation is created for this study of the Chilean diaspora and its links to development and politics in Chile.

I will argue throughout this thesis that the Chilean diaspora offers a series of different perspectives on migration experiences and relationships to 'home' which I will use to interrogate the diaspora development paradigm. I will demonstrate how taking the long view of a diaspora reveals how both notions of development and diaspora are problematised, contested and change in different contexts. I will show how, in the context of UK-based Chileans, the passage of time alters what development means to the Chilean state and Chilean diaspora, and how diaspora attention towards its homeland shifts and reshapes itself through multi-layered actions occurring at different times with different foci. These concerns are individual and collective in nature and

represent different concerns to that of the Chilean state. Therefore, Section 2.1 begins with a discussion of the factors influencing the emergence of the diaspora development discourse and its main features. It continues with an analysis of the main critiques that have emerged and lastly, the importance of understanding development more broadly. Section 2.2 moves onto an overview of the diaspora literature, the various definitions and interlinked issues of transnationality. It considers key concepts of place and space in relation to diaspora and concludes with an exploration of identity and belonging, all important aspects of appreciating the diversity and dynamism of diaspora. These major bodies of work provide key insights of the literature typically used in this type of study, whilst I also show where they lack sufficient attention to the ideas at play here. In Section 2.3, I analyse further issues that need to be incorporated within the theoretical framework, looking at forced migration, different categories of migrant and ideas of time and temporality.

2.1 The Development and Diaspora Discourse

2.1.1 Background

In the last two decades, the migration field has seen ever burgeoning levels of interest from academic and policy circles (Brønden, 2012; de Haas, 2012; Glick Schiller, 2020). In this changing world, migration has been linked to a host of other related issues at a global, national and local level, including national security, terrorism and scarcity of resources (Nyberg Sorenson, 2012). Intra-country and cross border flows of people is a phenomenon which generates intense interest and controversy, and debates continue to rage over the impact of development on migration and the impact of migration on development. An influential discourse has emerged from the complex and interwoven set of interests, demands and needs of sending and receiving governments, shaping the way in which international migrants are viewed and their abilities utilised in Northern and Southern countries. This discourse centres on the key idea that economic remittances and foreign direct investment by diaspora are powerful drivers of

development and that diaspora transnational networks can be a substantial force for change (Hansen, 2012; International Organization for Migration, 2003).

The development diaspora paradigm therefore sets up parameters within which the concepts of both development and diaspora are portrayed in distinct ways (see the following section). Challenges to this model have emerged from researchers who have questioned and critiqued this fairly limited discourse with its economistic and reductionist tendencies (Bastia, 2013; Glick Schiller, 2020; Lampert, 2009, 2014; Mercer et al., 2008, 2009; Mohan, 2006, 2008; Page and Mercer, 2012; Raghuram, 2009) and have been termed a 'new migration-and-development pessimism' (Gamlen, 2014b, p. 581). This research will examine these challenges, building on some of the conceptual points identified to investigate them further through this empirical study of the Chilean diaspora in the UK. As many have identified, the relationship between diaspora and development is immensely complex and profoundly context dependent. The idea of what development can mean to a diaspora has been given insightful expression through empirical work on African Home Associations (Lampert, 2009; Mercer et al., 2008; Mohan, 2006, 2008). The Chilean diaspora is characteristic of other Latin American diasporas in that it was subject to a development vision imposed by military rule with a resulting exodus of many people, both forced and voluntary (Roniger et al., 2017; Roniger and Sznajder, 1999; Terminiello, 2014). Investigation of the developmental aims of the diaspora over a fifty year period questions to what extent the manner of leaving their country and a changing political context in Chile affects diaspora relationships with 'home'. This sort of temporality has been underplayed in the diaspora development literature but deserves investigation to analyse the impact of these processes of change.

2.1.2 The Dominant Discourse

In this era of global recession, aid budget cuts and neo-liberal economic thinking, the notion of migrants funding their own country of origin development has become highly attractive to governments and international agencies (de Haas, 2012). Increased

security concerns post-September 2011 have coincided with economic pressures in Europe and the US and a constant pressure of anxiety over levels of immigration from the South (Vammen and Brønden, 2012). This coincidence of significant issues for Northern governments has led to the seizing of what many have viewed as an opportunity to address these issues in one fell swoop. The migration-development nexus, as it has become known, maintains an emphasis (from an international and government perspective) on the increased flow of remittances and provision of mechanisms to facilitate this, and on concerns over security and integration (Sørensen 2012; Vammen and Brønden, 2012). Monetary remittance flows, their use, migrant sending behaviour and the 'brain drain' have formed the most significant part of scholarship to date and these subjects represent an ever-growing area of interest for receiving country governments and others (Berg, 2004; de Haas, 2012, 2020; Orozco, 2006; Page and Mercer, 2012).

Research on the Home Town Associations (HTAs) based in the United States, which has demonstrated some concrete development successes (Orozco, 2006) has formed one of the central planks of the mainstream discourse. This discourse emphasises the growing contribution of remittances to Southern country budgets and the complicated web of transnational linkages and networks that facilitate the passage of both money and 'modern' ideas back 'home'. Newland and Patrick (2004) argue that remittances have a positive impact on development, especially in alleviating the difficulties of the poor in meeting their basic needs. Research by Newland and Patrick (2004), Portes (2009), Vertovec (2004), the Migration Policy Institute (Agunias, 2006) and the United Nations (International Organization for Migration, 2007) with the High-Level Dialogues on International Migration and Development, amongst many others have contributed to the formation of this discourse, which varies in interpretation but shares the overall key tenets mentioned. Additional focus on ideas of diaspora and transnationalism has widened the pool of research and debate considerably by drawing attention to the complexities in definition and make-up of diaspora and the many different ways of operating transnationally (Lampert, 2009; Sørensen et al., 2002).

Diaspora organisations can take a wide variety of forms, though most are based upon a notion of shared identity, often place based. The place based organisations, like the HTAs of Mexico, have received most attention to date, though many other types exist that are grounded in different areas of interest (Mercer et al., 2008; Mohan, 2008; Orozco 2006; Portes, 2009). Organisations are seen as critical to the transnational characteristics of diaspora, indeed Basch stresses that they 'link....immigrants to both the home and host societies simultaneously and in doing so join the two societies in a single field of action' (Basch, 1987, p. 183). Faist points to the centrality of diaspora organisations in thinking around potential for diaspora driven development saying 'transnational networks and associations of migrants have come to stand at the centre of the optimistic visions of national and international economic development policy establishments' (Faist, 2008, p. 22).

Some of the key features of the original discourse hinge on a number of idealised notions: 1) migrants are seen as active 'agents' in the development of their homeland (Sinatti and Horst, 2015), and 2) diaspora organisations are portrayed as a key force for promoting positive change and engaging in transnational politics. However, as many researchers have demonstrated, these notions cannot be taken at face value but are problematic constructs which merit deconstruction and re-examination (Mohan, 2006). Regarding the first notion, there is a tension between the levels of hardship involved for migrants sending remittances and the celebration of them as agents of development (McIlwaine, 2008), supported by Page and Mercer's observation that this can be viewed as '*fundamental exploitation*' (Page and Mercer, 2012, p. 12). There are often competing interests and motives at play with different historical relationships to their countries of origin that affect this agency (Wilcock, 2020). On the second notion, research amongst Ghanaians and Nigerians documents the phenomenon of attempts to re-create or reproduce the divisions of 'home' and the maintenance of social position which manifests in their experiences of associational life in diaspora (Lampert, 2009; Mohan, 2008). This phenomenon problematises the portrayal of diaspora organisations as cohesive and beneficial entities. Membership of diaspora organisations and participation in community events differ markedly according to factors such as class,

politics, gender and the timing of arrival in the host country as the divisions between longer established migrants and more recent arrivals shows in research on Bolivians in London (Pall Sveinsson, 2007). The positive discourse that celebrates the achievements of diaspora on development has been used to justify and create programmes around the world that use this construct as the foundation. However, this approach contains a number of issues which I will move onto in more depth next.

2.1.3 Critiques of the Discourse

The eager adoption of the migration development mantra by the development mainstream in the last twenty years, has given way to the uneasy realisation that the picture is far more complex than the 'buzz' first allowed (Delgado Wise, 2014; Gamlen, 2014b; Glick Schiller, 2012, 2020). With once enthusiastic programmes being scaled back, the web of assumptions underpinning the positive spin has started to unravel (Bastia, 2013; Brønden, 2012). Some researchers have argued that this nexus is based on a set of normative migration and development baselines which need to be questioned and re-evaluated (Brønden, 2012; Hansen 2012; Raghuram, 2009). A 'sedentary bias' is at the core of notions of development which form the basis of many development interventions. This bias stems from colonial roots of development programmes being focused on geographical locations. Where interventions are 'successful', people will thrive and wish to remain (Bakewell, 2008, p. 1342). Thus unquestioningly, the need for control of mobility and a view of migration as development failure are taken as universal truths (Bakewell, 2008; Castles, 2017a; Sørensen, 2012). Moreover, Gamlen (2014b, p. 588) points out that these 'truths' are not only explicitly political but are framed as 'common wisdom'. The set pieces of migration development thinking on which much recent debate is based, obscure other ways of interpreting the relationship (Raghuram, 2009). Building on this, criticism has emerged on the issues of diasporas being co-opted into Northern political agendas and thereby exercising forms of control over them and limiting the prospects of grass-roots forms of development (Boyle and Ho, 2017; Gamlen, 2014b).

The emphasis on increasing remittance sending rests on the idea that migration itself can be an '*engine for development*' (Sørensen, 2012, p. 65). This idea has been circulating in various forms through different eras in migration studies (de Haas, 2012, 2020) and in its current form, it neatly harnesses both opportunities (remittances, knowledge transfer and transnational social fields) and deals with perceived threats (increased flows of migrants and national and global security), the latter by the limited notion that supporting development of migrant sending countries means that less people will be inclined to migrate overall. Many Latin American governments have been actively courting their diaspora with the aim of maintaining and further increasing remittance levels, most notably perhaps Mexico, with its *Tres por uno* or 3x1 Programme where the government contributes three times the value of funds sent by HTAs abroad. The utility and impact of remittances remains hotly contested with studies showing different impacts in different settings (de Haas, 2012, Page and Mercer, 2012). If, as Page and Mercer argue, 'the right of those 'at home' to expect remittances from those in the diaspora is enshrined in the argument about the development-migration nexus', the unravelling of the claims that uphold the nexus must call into question policies that seek to increase remittances (Page and Mercer, 2012, p. 12).

These critiques of the discourse demonstrate the dangers in relying on a model which normalises a particular view of the world that does not correspond to the reality of many people. Rather than researchers concluding that all migrants are engaged in the development of their countries of origin, instead we must assess the extent to which such activities occur and their impact (Guarnizo et al., 2003). As found in research on Ghana, most migrants are more engaged in personal interactions with family and community than in development projects (Mohan, 2008). Each individual diaspora and its ability or opportunity to participate in or 'do' development, rests on a combination of factors, historical context being particularly crucial (Al-Ali et al., 2001a), which the discourse often ignores. It is this I seek to explore further in my research. Several critiques have illustrated this problem in empirical investigations of African diasporas, and this conceptual gap merits further exploration through the case of the Chilean

diaspora. To do so, the very pillars upon which this discourse rests, development and diaspora, need to be re-evaluated and re-constructed.

2.1.4 Development Deconstructed

Guizardi and Grimson (2020, p. 547) note that '[i]n Latin America, few terms have had a social and political life as troubled as the concept of 'development'.' Attempting to define and determine what development means in different contexts is problematic but essential to unpick the trajectory of Chile's development and its meaning for the diaspora. Development is a contested and dynamic concept which can be both process and project (Cowen and Shenton, 1996). Definitions vary widely depending on one's background and viewpoint within academic and policy circles. Latin American scholars have contributed extensively to the global debates on development, influencing thinking in areas such as dependency (Cardoso and Faletto, 1971) through to the effects of social movements related to liberation theology (Freire, 2000) and post-development (Escobar, 1999, 2012). Typically, development as used by academics and development professionals refers to different dimensions of economic growth together with certain social and political criteria (Sklair, 1994). Ongoing debates over definitions of development have had an impact on mainstream thinking with different aspects of development such as participation, civil society inclusion and human rights now taking their place in this arena (Castles, 2017b; Delgado Wise, 2014). However, policy and programme design in the migration development arena still privilege economic and repatriation issues, with notions of participatory, sustainable development and empowerment acknowledged in an often cursory manner. This characterisation of development reflects the concerns of professional development actors that privilege and fetishise the value of transnationality above the local, but in actual fact 'proximity still matters' and it is often internal migrants who play the most active role (Mercer et al., 2009, p. 144). The reality is that programmes designed by what is now the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office amongst others to assist in the remittance of money back 'home', are often one-dimensional and ignore fundamental tensions underpinning life as part of a diaspora in the UK. In addition, evidence demonstrates

that structural constraints limit the role that migration and remittances can play (de Haas, 2012).

Parvati Raghuram pertinently asked “[w]hat Development?” (Raghuram, 2009). The notion of development that forms the basis of the nexus is at the heart of many critical analyses (Bakewell, 2008; Faist, 2008, 2009). Development is conceptualised in a particular way in the migration development literature and given normative status, yet this status needs to be interrogated. Raghuram sees much of this conceptualisation as stemming from a version of developmentalism whereby activities outside of this are seen as ‘anti-developmental’ (Raghuram, 2009, p. 18). Preconfigured understandings of the normalised discourse exclude alternatives which can represent both diasporic visions of development and a diversity of diaspora practices which can be viewed as developmental (Page and Mercer, 2012). These development forms may not fit current policy preoccupations, yet in the practices they display, the diaspora frequently articulate their own vision of what development means for them. This much broader view of what development means follows Page and Mercer’s contention that development outcomes are not always purposive, but sometimes the result of everyday life and practices. They propose that examining the everyday life of diasporas, by which they mean the totality of all the acts and choices that are individually and collectively performed, might generate some innovative modes of development rather than ‘pre-judging which phenomena are to be rendered visible through data collection’. They argue that diasporic practices can be developmental because they can address improvement of the social or physical environment or human capital (Page and Mercer, 2012, p. 13), a key tenet of development concerns as evidenced by the creation of the Human Capital Index by the World Bank in 2018.

The outcomes of development, whether intentional or not, take us back to ideas of ‘Big D’ Development as a purposive project versus ‘little d’ development as ‘a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes’ (Hart, 2001, p. 650). As critiques of these notions of development have shown, they have served useful purpose in development studies as a framing device but should be taken further in the context of today where development can be viewed in more nuanced terms and paying more

attention to participatory, pragmatic and political approaches where community and civil society play key roles (Farahani and Esfahani, 2020; Lewis, 2019). The question of what and whose development we are talking about illustrates the need for clarity over the direction of the intended development. Development of diasporans themselves is often a primary motivator for migration. Taking this concept further, evidence shows that development of diaspora members through organisational support is seen by the diaspora as investment and therefore development of the country itself (Mercer et al., 2008). Mohan and Zack-Williams put forward a threefold classification that sets out development *in* the diaspora whereby the host locality benefits due to the diaspora presence, development *through* the diaspora which relates to their specific transnational qualities to provide additional local social and economic benefits, and development *by* the diaspora which relates to the benefits that diaspora bring to their countries of origin (Mohan, 2002; Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002). The points outlined have demonstrated that reading diasporic action as developmental is contingent on how development is understood, a concept which is vital in understanding how the Chilean diaspora view their collective and individual activities.

From the perspective of Chile, one could ask whether development remains a relevant term to discuss a country that is today designated 'high-income' by the World Bank and has been a member of the OECD since 2010. The Chilean case challenges us to think deeply about the meaning and interpretation of development and the application of the diaspora development paradigm in this scenario. Chile's journey to 'high-income' status has been a long process over time, changing in response to purposive development enacted through government policies that have themselves evolved over this lengthy period. Today, development studies is gradually moving towards the understanding that concepts of development apply to all countries, not merely those that have historically been viewed as those of the 'poor' South. Horner and Hulme's call for reframing international development as global development is based on their argument for a 'converging divergence' between countries. This refers both to the convergence in development indicators between countries of North and South, and simultaneously the divergence within countries of growing levels of inequality (Horner and Hulme, 2019).

Whilst some of their arguments have been robustly critiqued (Bangura, 2019; Fischer, 2019) ideas about the blurring of the North-South binary are important and relate to global shifts in perceptions of development as both concept and project. Whereas the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 solely related to developing nations, the Sustainable Development Goals set in 2015 now apply to all nations. Since April 2016, the World Bank has stopped differentiating between developing and developed countries in their annual World Development Indicators. By looking at the trajectory of Chile in development terms and questioning what it means to be designated a 'developed' country, my research relates to current debates on new ideas of global development and the need to rethink and reinterpret its boundaries.

In keeping with these critiques outlined and remaining open to Chilean diaspora definitions, my definition of development is one that is broad and open, following the idea that it is 'a social construct that means different things to different people at different times and in different contexts' (Chikezie, 2013, p. 140). In this framework, development is acknowledged to be a political, contested process whose goals and agendas are subject to interpretation. Despite the difficulties of agreeing on what those goals might be, following Sen's groundbreaking work on capabilities and the importance of freedoms, it is now widely recognised that income measures are not enough to constitute development progress by themselves (Sen, 2001, 2005). I define development here in its widest sense as a process of change with the aim of long-term human well-being which includes, '[d]emocracy, respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms...and effective participation by civil society' (United Nations, 1997, p. 2). The rise of China has meant that democracy is emphasised less explicitly today. Number 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals to '[p]romote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels' highlights a similar position whilst bypassing the term democracy itself (<https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal16>), however, in relation to Chile and its authoritarian past, democracy remains key. I consider that the political is at the core of development, building on the idea that development itself – what it means and what it involves – is inherently political and

subject to political struggle. From this inclusive stance which goes much wider and deeper than 'the ideas and world of development aid as a distinct area' (Bakewell, 2008, p. 1342-3), this study will seek to discover those spaces and practices which might be developmental. I also place key importance on the changing nature of development in different contexts and its meaning and interpretation over time given the long view that this study is researching. An open, inductive and ethnographic approach will facilitate this aim by responding to the diaspora's own priorities and understanding of this issue. The work of Mercer et al. and Page and Mercer particularly has shown some of the different ways in which diaspora think about what development is (Mercer et al., 2008; Page and Mercer, 2012). The Chilean diaspora in the UK has engaged in a diverse range of individual and collective activity over many years in their own distinctive ways, responding to shifting times and situation in 'home' and 'host' countries. The Chilean case reveals that diaspora and development can look completely different to mainstream conceptions in different contexts. The temporal overview gained through tracing the journey to becoming a 'developed' nation from a 'developing' one reveals contesting views of development at work in this half century, forcing us to review how and what development actually is when seen through the eyes of diaspora members rather than the implicit expectation that transnational activity in itself can be developmental. In my study, the Chilean case enables questioning of how development is framed and claimed in these discourses. Thus far, empirical investigation of this activity from its origins through its evolution over the time period in question has not been carried out. In seeking to understand when, how and by whom Chilean diasporic action could be seen to be developmental, it is necessary to delve deeper into the theory of what makes up a diaspora, where it operates and who belongs to it, issues to which I turn next.

2.2 Aspects of Diaspora

2.2.1 *Do Definitions Matter?*

The study of diaspora is of great interest to academics from a variety of disciplines and much work has been done which seeks to explore what diaspora is, what it is not and whether a homeplace still matters to its members (Cohen, 2009; Safran, 2009; Tolia-Kelly, 2018). Mercer et al., argue that the concept of 'diaspora' is analytically distinct from that of 'migrants' due to the former's focus on 'the strange dialectic of simultaneous flight from and longing for home' whereas the latter are seen as making reasoned choices in relation to economic factors of incentives and opportunities. The proliferation of the use of the term 'diaspora' tends to highlight the positive aspects of migration, whereas 'migrants' are often seen as problematic (Mercer et al., 2008, p. 51). It has been argued that diaspora 'is in danger of becoming a promiscuously capacious category' and therefore clarity of definition is required (Tölöyan, 2019, p. 22). Building on Safran and Cohen's work, Brubacker discusses the changing meaning of diaspora and tensions in the way that key elements are understood, and the problems of speaking of the diaspora and indeed the nation-state as an entity (Brubacker, 2005; Cohen 2009; Safran 2009). Notwithstanding the various definitional difficulties of the term 'diaspora', it remains, in my opinion, the most suitable way to discuss individuals of Chilean origin around the world. My definition of the Chilean population, spread amongst many countries, as a diaspora, rests on three main points that follow Brubacker: 1) the cause of the dispersion (even pre Pinochet) was a striking shift in politics that alienated large sectors of the population, 2) strong transnational links towards their homeland and between the geographically dispersed diaspora 3) 'boundary-maintenance', or the reproduction of a specific identity that binds people together and distinguishes them from their host society, often through cultural modes of expression such as music, art and food (Shayne, 2009). Scholars of the Chilean diaspora agree with this definition of the Chilean migration post-1970 (Olsson 2008; Ramírez, 2012, 2014; Ramírez and Serpente, 2012; Serpente, 2015). I also include those members who lived as part of the UK diaspora for a period and then returned to

Chile. The data showed many examples of coming and going back and forth between the countries, indicative of the lasting state that is diaspora. Olsson (2008) confirms that Chileans consider themselves part of the diaspora even after moving back to Chile. Whilst definition matters to an extent, it is more important to look within the whole and breakdown the totality that the 'diaspora' implies, to explore who makes up the diaspora and how that changes over time. Today's Chilean diaspora is a completely different entity to that of the 1970s or 1990s and yet the diaspora of the 1970s provides the prevailing and only publicly known picture of this population in the UK.

2.2.2 Transnationality: A Limited Concept Lacking Historicity

Research on the Chilean diaspora shows that transnationality is a feature of this diaspora as of others (Bolzman, 2011; Calandra, 2013; Landolt and Goldring, 2010). Studies of transnationality have been linked to diaspora to describe the burgeoning phenomena of complex ties and interactions that span national boundaries (Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Vertovec, 2004). The notion of transnational migration seems to have overtaken traditional emigration which emphasised a permanent shift of residence to a single destination (Bürkner, 2012). Levitt's notion of a life conducted across borders, identified through research with the US-based diaspora of the Dominican Republic, has contributed to the understanding of the multi-layered interactions that take place between migrants and their countries of origin, particularly in terms of development possibilities (Levitt, 1998). The increase in availability and relative fall in price of air travel and communications have enabled migrants to maintain close contact with their 'home' countries. Diaspora communities might vote in the elections of their 'home' countries, in certain cases leading to political campaigning across borders (Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2001). The idea of social remittances offers useful analysis of potential social and cultural capital gains for homeland communities. This idea privileges social impacts of migration as opposed to the mainstream focus on the economic. Levitt argues that social remittances can perform as a potential community development aid to channel information gathered through exposure to new practices and thinking in the country of settlement (Levitt, 1998). Transnationality has been

studied in various manifestations, in single or multiple combination of the cultural, social, economic or political though most transnational studies focus on a small group from a rural location who have settled in one place. For a number of years after transnationality as a concept came to the fore, there was limited research on people from urban areas, groups residing in multiple sites or groups or same country populations from different places of origin (Guarnizo et al., 1999; McIlwaine, 2012). In recent years, a wealth of new empirical studies have given more detailed expression to this area (Chikanda et al., 2016; Lamba-Nieves, 2017; Minto-Coy, 2016; Vari-Lavoisier, 2020).

The concept of transnationality is a significant aid in its descriptive ability to map and portray migration phenomena as outlined above, though it is now acknowledged to be 'not a theoretical perspective, but a mid-range concept designed to highlight a previously neglected patch of reality and to guide and encourage its investigation' (Portes et al., 2017, p. 1489). Critiques have emerged pointing to various problems with this concept. Transnationality is often criticised for its lack of temporal awareness and attention to temporal changes that can affect context and experience (Bürkner, 2012, de Jong and Dannecker, 2018). Because of this, transnationality and the migration development mantra can both lack historical depth and 'neglect the ways in which institutions, opportunities and barriers for local, national and global transformation are everywhere mutually constituted within globe-spanning relationships of unequal power and transnational and translocal social movements of accommodation and contestation can be missing' (Glick Schiller, 2020, p. 96). Anthias' research has sought to remedy the ahistorical and atemporal nature of ethnocentric transnational study through coining the alternative concept of 'translocational positionality'. This gives an intersectional framing through its focus on the multiple connections between social divisions of gender, ethnicity and class which add to our understanding of belonging, through examining identity by means of 'locations which are not fixed but are context, meaning and time related and which therefore involve shifts and contradictions' (Anthias, 2008, p. 5). In 2001, Al-Ali et al. noted that transnationality had largely ignored refugees and moving forwards, there is still lack of significant attention paid to different groups within diasporas, not only in terms of migrant categories but also regarding issues of identity

such as regional, political or class affiliations. There is no useful analysis to be done by taking this category of actors at face value or as 'a homogeneous extension of a singular homeland' (Walton-Roberts et al., 2019, p. 294). Detailed empirical investigation has unsettled this concept revealing the diversity and contradictions inherent within as the transnational lives of the Chilean diaspora are examined. Whilst ideas of transnationality are useful and add to our understanding of such border spanning practices, they do not go far enough to capture the totality of the diverse diasporic experience. An historical perspective is essential here to frame and interpret the reasons behind the actions of today and intervening years since the 1970s. The historical trajectory of the diaspora's transnational practices is likely to demonstrate the important consequences of peoples' individual migration experiences and journeys. What is also vital to unsettle here is *who* is doing *what* transnationally within the diaspora and *why*. Thus, a contextually sited analysis, which incorporates a sense of diaspora place and diaspora space to anchor the diaspora with awareness of their transnational sensibility is necessary for this research project.

2.2.3 Place and Space in Multiple Articulations

Drawing together concepts of diaspora and development demands a focus on the nature of relationships between diaspora and country of origin; attention to place and space is essential. Place and space are important for thinking about context which in turn informs understanding of the way diasporas operate and why. In much literature on diaspora, notions of diasporic consciousness and hybrid identities challenge ideas of migration that indicate a clean break with the homeland (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011). Yet in establishing a framework which sees diasporic identities as 'non-local, hybrid and fluid', much literature emphasises the '*placelessness*' of diaspora, where ongoing attachment to a homeplace is minimised (Mercer et al., 2008, p. 51). Mercer et al. argue this is due more to Western academic agendas than to the assertions of those within the diaspora. They divide writing on diasporic space into two main areas; that which focuses on the fractured global space in which the diaspora preserves its unity (Brah, 1996; Brubaker, 2005) and that which looks at the local space where diaspora

members live (Tölöyan, 1996; Werbner, 2002). In both of these areas of literature, the homeplace is framed as being far from important, and indeed seems located mainly within the imagination (Mercer et al, 2008). I use the terms 'home' and 'host' in this thesis to refer to Chile and UK respectively despite the problematic nature of these categories, conscious of the tensions they evoke between the shifting identifications and definitions of which country is which for different people. Chile as 'home' still has meaning for those even where relations have been cut off due to exile whilst 'home' for some Chileans is indeed the UK. The term 'host', used here to refer to the UK, fails to adequately encompass the role that it plays in many lives, having become far more than this to many. However, 'home' and 'host' capture the basis of the diaspora and development relationship which I study, and also underpins the sensibilities through which I approached the interviews. I asked people about the belonging and identification with a 'home' they left behind and therefore it is the register through which they responded. Therefore, and despite the limitations of these terms, I use them here.

A diaspora can be thought of as inhabiting at least two different places, the place of origin and the place of settlement, though there may be others. Detailed located analyses such as on the Muslim diaspora in the North of England where the place in question is the primary focus, offer an understanding of the influence of 'home', whether imaginary or not (Werbner, 2002). It is evident from the personal accounts of Chilean exiles that the very nature of the cause of the geographical dispersion is an important factor in the creation and maintenance of ideas of 'home' (Wright and Oñate, 1998). Whilst more in depth discussions of place are useful and allow focused empirical analysis on diaspora activity and behaviour, Brah's discussion of the much bigger picture of diaspora space draws attention to the importance of the links between places, wherever they are (Brah, 1996). Brah defines diaspora space as 'the intersectionality of diaspora, border, and dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychic processes'. She argues that the same 'geographical and psychic space comes to articulate different 'histories'.' In her contrasting analysis of accounts by a black and a white woman of growing up in Alabama, she demonstrates how 'home' can simultaneously be a place of safety and of 'terror' (Brah, 1996, p. 181). The concept of

space articulated shows that what seems to be one space produces multiple life experiences, providing a potential framework for analysis of the Chilean situation. Different histories of the multiple realities within the Chilean diaspora remain unexamined. It is this differentiation by dint of people's particular histories that explain their perspectives and feelings about Chile and its development trajectory, informing their behaviour. This space which incorporates the smaller 'places' of diaspora and the homeland (whether real or imaginary) is one in which identity is re-created, a space which permits exploration and shaping of a diasporic identity in the physical and interior worlds. It is the context within which can be seen various versions of simultaneous clinging to and gradual relinquishing of roles previously held. It is also the space where the performing of new, not yet fully fledged roles and identities may occur.

This notion of diaspora space helps to highlight the limitations of the migration development nexus which tends (like much of the diaspora literature) to focus on the binary relationships between a diaspora and homeland (as in Calandra, 2013; Itzigsohn, 2000; Levitt, 1998). The Chilean diaspora, scattered across multiple countries and continents, drew much of their successful strength in networking, from the multiple inter and cross-country collaborations they carried out over many years (Bolzman, 2011). Inter place relationality, which we can see as part of wider diaspora space, is important in two main ways. Firstly, what happens in different locations will change over time and will in turn affect other locations. Secondly, the people outside the diaspora are also crucially important. This refers to people at 'home' and also to people with whom diasporans interact in the country of settlement. The quality of links and relationships to the country of origin have a significant effect on the form and effect of the development that takes place, and the internal diaspora can play a more significant role in development than the international diaspora (Lampert, 2014). This evidence brings us back to Brah's concept of diaspora space with its emphasis on 'the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put'' (Brah, 1996, p. 181).

The host country context, which can be both enabling and alienating, can be a source of additional support from local activists (another area that the migration development

nexus pays insignificant attention to). In Landolt and Goldring's study of Colombians and Chileans in Canada, collaboration between non-migrant activists and migrant activists is vitally important; the context and interaction are significant and defining. Canadian activists were instrumental in pushing for Chilean refugees to be accepted by the government and therefore active in the selection and settlement of refugees. The facilitating nature of the Canadian context and the role of the activists had an important enabling effect on the Chilean exiles and their continued activity. Conversely, the Chilean organisations and their work also had a significant and lasting impact on the Canadian activists' way of working (Landolt and Goldring, 2010). It is important to clarify the role that the host country plays as the 'place' of diaspora can have a defining function. It points to the need to analyse the differences in experience of belonging to the diaspora and the relationship to one's country of settlement. The Chilean experience in the UK remains to be investigated in depth in order to identify what the dynamics of this relationship are.

The concepts outlined above of diaspora space and country context contain elements which are necessary though insufficient for this research. These elements of attention to home, the importance of place(s) and the relationship to wider space need to be taken together to provide a sufficient means with which to analyse the Chilean diaspora. As indicated, I do not endorse the view of the 'placelessness' of diaspora. On the contrary, I contend that existing evidence on the Chilean diaspora (to follow in Chapter Three) demonstrates the importance of place both in the imagination and in the real-world context of diaspora formation and development. Diaspora space as outlined is somewhere which can both transcend time and display multiple dimensions of it; it carries the past within it as well as the present. This issue of the relationship of past to present is at the core of the unknown realities of the Chilean diaspora. If diaspora space can be seen as a historical space, where the past is not only carried continuously through some diaspora members but is experienced by many at different times, the influence this has on the diaspora's ability to form a collective identity needs to be scrutinised. This research will argue that context is central to the diaspora and its activities and provide new empirical evidence to demonstrate this. Therefore, the

relationship between space, place and 'home' in its temporal dimensions must be analysed as a whole to fully understand the intricate realities of the diaspora. Development itself as enacted by the Chilean diaspora is the product of the sum of these relationships, purposive or otherwise. The relationship between these elements is fundamental to the construction of identity and belonging.

2.2.4 Identity and Belonging

The feeling and experience of belonging to a homeland might seem fundamental to a diaspora, yet this must be explored and defined more in more depth. Part of my research focuses on how the experience of migrating for differing reasons affects people's sense of identity and belonging as part of a diaspora. Detailed questions need to be asked that expose the diversity, contradictions and different identities operating within this group known as the Chilean diaspora. The subjective position experienced by the multitude of individuals with the diversity of background, experience, migration journey in combination with structural categories moves us away from defined positions and reveals a complexity within the so-called whole that begs the question of what the whole, the collective consists of. Identity is not fixed nor a possessive attribute of individuals or groups. An unsettled identity in flux is common to the experience of migration and settlement in another country, regardless of diversity of context or origin. The identity in transition is potentially susceptible to impositions of external constructs on the 'reality' of 'We' or 'I' that is our subjective experience of ourselves. Brah's analysis of 'experience' does not refer to a stand-alone reality, but 'is directly *subjected* within specific discursive practices' (Brah, 1996, p. 9). Mercer et al., also point to the limitations of the concept of identity as it pays insignificant attention to the labels people give themselves, and those given to them by others, an important consideration because of the differences between these two positions. Instead, 'subjectivity is the individual's experience of their imperfect relationship with their identity, the limits of the fit between their 'identity' and their sense of self' (Mercer et al., 2008, p. 20). Anthias sees belonging as involving the sense of being excluded, isolated or unable to

participate, as opposed to identity which is about who people think they are (Anthias, 2008).

The Chilean diaspora is subject to political, temporal and social divides. The schismatic nature of the diaspora is a reproduction of those divisions of 'home' most obviously visible in its political dimensions, the divide between left and right hardened through seventeen years of right-wing military rule. It begs the question, what has happened to the diaspora post-dictatorship? Existing studies on the Chilean diaspora indicates that identity is frequently constructed around issues of nationality, class and politics (Bolzman, 2002, 2011; Calandra, 2013; Kay, 1987, 1988). Research on exiles shows that identification with a particular political affiliation was key to identity for many exiles prior to the coup (Kay, 1987, 1988). However, these identities were often thrown into crisis by the experience of living in the diaspora. Anecdotal evidence explored during the fieldwork suggested that identities built on the experience of being an exile endure over significant time spans, with people identifying strongly with being an exile today, rather than as part of a wider diaspora. Whilst in Safran (1991, 2009) and Cohen's (1997, 2009) work on diasporas, exiles are very much part of what they consider to be classic diasporas, Chilean exiles themselves feel separate from other diaspora members to the extent that their identity is still constructed around that of an exile fifty years on from leaving Chile. What Smith terms 'fragmented selfhood' is, as he suggests, not only related to political refugees, but a common experience of many migrants (Smith, 2002, p. xiii). Thus, identifying the axes of identity in individuals' motivations for engaging transnationally is crucial to this study. The reasons behind decisions to 'subscribe' to transnationalism, whether voluntary or even involuntarily as Al-Ali and Koser point out, merit serious investigation (Al-Ali and Koser, 2002, p. 14). Taking these considerations of identity and belonging, aspects of diaspora and the diaspora development discourse gives us a theoretical basis for studying the relationship between the Chilean diaspora and the development of Chile. However, it is clear from the analysis so far that there are some under-developed dimensions here. This literature is missing key issues which need to be brought in from other areas of the wider research field. These additional bodies of work together with the over-arching

theme of temporality that needs to flow through all the areas outlined here, is what we will move onto now.

2.3 Wider Questions of Migration

It became evident early on in the research phase that the narrow boundaries of the diaspora and development literature, the wider cultural work on diasporas and transnationality would not alone be sufficient to provide the theoretical basis for this study. As more themes emerged and became apparent through the data collection, it was clear that this long temporal study of this Chilean diaspora and the issues underpinning their modes of behaviour and interactions required attention to other bodies of literature to explain the dynamics at work. The following section opens outwards to these other essential categories, contributing vital aspects of theory that enable a deeper understanding of this particular diaspora, namely forced migration, migration elites and temporality.

2.3.1 Forced Migration and its Legacy of Violence

The Chilean diaspora has at its core a large group of globally dispersed exiles created through a programme of forced migration implemented by the Pinochet government from 1973 onwards. Therefore, any consideration of this diaspora needs to incorporate the theoretical underpinnings of research areas that consider experiences and effects of exile. Al-Ali et al. (2001b) have made an effective case for more attention to be paid to refugees within the study of transnationalism but literature on forced migration, exiles and refugees does not typically speak to the diaspora development paradigm directly, instead relating more to questions of definitions, psychological interventions and policy initiatives. In addition, related work on the results of forced migration such as long-term trauma, peace and reconciliation and spaces of remembrance is also vital to consider. Connecting these bodies of work together therefore is an important part of creating the framework for this study.

Cohen's definition of a victim diaspora as one of the five identified types where populations are forced into exile immediately highlights one of the central missing tenets of the diaspora development paradigm (Cohen, 1997). Recognition of a shared past relating to a painful displacement is not present in the majority of work arguing for the creation of diaspora development programmes or highlighting the positive effects of remittances. The fields of forced migration and refugee studies have grown greatly in recent years, encompassing a wide range of interests and concerns. As Wahlbeck argued in 2002, despite the growth and increased scholarly attention to diasporas at that time, there was a distinct lack of communication between the two fields. This has been addressed to an extent with both diaspora and transnationalism becoming key concepts in within forced migration and refugee studies (Van Hear, 2014). Wahlbeck also stressed the need for refugees to be looked at in terms of ideas about diaspora, to broaden understanding of refugee situations without resorting to limited categorisations (Wahlbeck, 2002). The abundance of work in the refugee field frequently lacks a sound focus on theory (Malkki, 1995b; Wahlbeck, 2002). Common aspects of work on refugees, particularly amongst policy-oriented literature tends to be based on the premise that the refugees are a 'problem' (Malkki, 1995a, p. 8; Sigona, 2014) and simplistic categorisations that do not reflect messy realities but have profound consequences (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018; Zetter, 2015). The problem is located within the 'bodies and minds of people classified as refugees' rather than the political processes or violence which produce these mass displacements of people (Malkki, 1995a, p. 8). Malkki argues this relates to another feature of the literature which interiorises becoming a refugee and portrays specific features or personal traits which are common to refugees, leading to the universalisation of the figure of 'the refugee'. Stein's work on the essentialised refugee experience typifies this type of approach (Stein, 1981). Researchers contend that this type of attitude is a problem, with Malkki arguing that a key tenet underlying these contemporary discourses on refugees is the assumption that a refugee 'apparently *stripped of the specificity of culture, place, and history* - is human in the most basic, elementary sense' (Malkki, 1995a, p. 12) and visual imagery and portrayals of refugees continuing to proliferate as if in a 'time-warp...of biblical iconography' (Wright, 2014a, p. 3). As Malkki shows in her analysis of

Hutu refugees in a refugee camp, exile did not strip them of their collective identity, rather they were able to locate their identities within their displacement 'extracting meaning and power from the interstitial social location they inhabited' (Malkki, 1995a, p. 16), a situation reminiscent of the Chilean exiles in the UK. Malkki's assessment of the refugee figure remains a key reference in the field to this day.

Kunz observes 'it is the reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivations to settle elsewhere, which characterises all refugee decisions and distinguishes the refugee from the voluntary migrants' (Kunz, 1973, p. 130). Whilst the category of refugee carries with it a recognised legal status, the term 'exile' preferred by many in this study, does not, yet the latter is equally applicable to Kunz's claim. The terms are not interchangeable though, questions of legality aside. For Chileans arriving in the UK, although officially they were entitled to refugee status (Rutter et al., 2007), not all were able to claim this (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020). I use the term 'exile' in this study in accordance with the term this cohort use to describe themselves. The state of exile features in many works of literature providing inspiration and the ability to explore those innermost feelings and haunting desires of 'home', most famously in Said's *Reflections on Exile* (Said, 2000). The distinction drawn between refugees and exiles evokes 'a whole history of differences, not only of race, class, world region, and historical era but of different people's very different entanglements with the state and international bureaucracies that characterize the national order of things' (Malkki, 1995b, p. 153). While the term refugee tends to suggest an essentialised type (Stein, 1981), this is not true of the exile, whose diversity and individuality comes through in the many cultural forms this experience is depicted. However, the romanticisation of exile can be equally problematic (Malkki, 1995b). Said noted that 'at most the literature about exile objectifies anguish and a predicament most people rarely experience first-hand' (Said, 2000, p. 174). The distinction between refugee and exile is important given that the overwhelming majority of Chileans who fled the dictatorship self-identify as exiles in the literature and also as we will see later, in the data gathered in this study. Whilst many did have the legal status of refugees, the category of exile is one that most found best fitted their situation. For Pedraza-Bailey, political exile is 'the last step of a process

of political disaffection' which suggests a coherence to the stages of flight and links more to the idea of self-alienation in those who do not want to be associated with their country (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985, p. 8, also see Kunz, 1981). This perspective may be seen to have relevance to some Chilean exiles but not at all to the experience of others, leading us to renewed awareness that 'it is through learning the lived experiences of individuals that one can come closest to understanding how they have constructed their reality' (Cameron, 2014, p. 5).

Trauma is often overlooked in studies of diasporas, and where it appears in the literature, it is often analysed from a health or psychosocial research perspective, discussing the clinical effects of torture, human rights violations, mental health issues and post-traumatic stress suffered as a consequence of displacement and associated violence (Quiroga and Jaranson, 2005). It is not discussed however in the clinical language of the development diaspora paradigm. As a huge body of work in its own right, it is beyond the scope of this study to delve more deeply into it, yet an awareness of the potential impacts of trauma is necessary as they can be long-lasting and profound (George, 2010). In its functional and ahistorical approach, the diaspora development paradigm fails to take account of these components which can profoundly affect diasporas and their practices. Related to the traumatic legacies of violence are processes of peace and reconciliation together with acts and spaces of remembrance. Through multiple practices including testimony about the 'disappeared' or the acts of exiles, different forms of justice seeking through commemorations, creations of museums or monuments, legal and political trials or Truth Commissions, seek to remember, acknowledge and restore (Lumsden, 1999). The purposes of such processes vary widely. Primarily, Truth Commissions seek to acknowledge the 'truth' and bear witness to atrocities committed (Hayner, 1994). There are also legal challenges which seek to bring recourse for illegal acts of human rights abuses and torture and reparations for those affected. While Truth Commissions play a critical role in a country's ability to reconcile and move forward, their level of success in doing so varies widely, some providing 'a 'cathartic' affect in society, as fulfilling the important step of formally acknowledging a long-silenced past' whilst others have much more

limited impact (Hayner, 1994, p. 600). Spaces of remembrance or commemoration like memorials in the built realm invite engagement with the public in a range of forms, creating conversation and encounters with traumatic memory (Hite, 2016). These spaces can 'become vital spaces for societal soul-searching, not just about the past, but also about the present and future' (Hite and Collins, 2009, p. 379). Societies are not always capable of carrying out this work alone to an appropriate extent due to resistance within. Sometimes it is the presence of international actors who are able to facilitate this where domestic ones cannot prevail (Blustein, 2012). This branch of literature is largely ignored by most of the diaspora development proponents. In relating past to present and pinpointing a major concern for those who have been subjects of violence or who are concerned about it, these legacies of violence are as frequently a key area of interest as much as the current state of development of their homeland, though this is not acknowledged by the paradigm.

2.3.2 Migrant Elites: A Category Apart?

In this study, a key area under investigation is the interaction between the different types of migrant that make up the Chilean diaspora. Until now, only the exile cohort has been visible, yet there are many others outside this category who form part of the diaspora. Since the 1970s and 1980s, exiles have been joined in the UK by others who have moved for reasons including economic opportunity or love and marriage, followed more recently by large numbers of postgraduate students, most of whom are in receipt of government scholarships as part of the Becas Chile programme. Diasporas are increasingly made up of diverse types of migrants that join original groups who settled in a new country, leading to new interactions and juxtapositions like the Chilean situation in the UK. The subject of migrant elites has become a burgeoning area within the migration literature in recent years as globalisation continues to attract movement across the globe. Elite or highly skilled categories of migrant such as students and business people are treated quite differently in policy terms by receiving and sending governments and 'are only rarely politicized or seen in a negative light' (Weinar and Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020, p. 1). This movement has been generally perceived

as unproblematic to host states and migrants themselves. In not confronting this, Kunz stresses that migration studies 'risk (re)producing a skewed image of migrants and immigrants as predominantly non-Western, non-White, non-elite subjects, while at the same time failing to take seriously the experiences of migrants that do not fit this image' (Kunz, 2016, p. 89).

Students are emerging as a key area of interest within this area, though there is some debate over whether they should be considered highly skilled (Raghuram, 2013; She and Wotherspoon, 2013; Weinari and Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020). Questions around the specificity of the student migrant and what is different about student migration abound, as do analyses of individual country policies. Students are not generally highly skilled at the point of study, rather it is their potential to become highly skilled at some future time that lies in their classification in this way (Weinari and Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020). Debate persists over how to classify students, given they may constitute people who are studying, or working simultaneously, and when they become a highly skilled migrant (She and Wotherspoon, 2013; Weinari and Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020). Despite the growth of this area, 'theoretical insights remain confined within disciplinary boundaries and fixed on narratives that restrict rather than enlarge our understanding of the growing multiplicity and stratification of contemporary student mobilities' (Lipura and Collins, 2020, p. 344). For this study, the particular area of interest is the interactions or overlap between students and other categories of migrant and their place as part of a diaspora, which has been highlighted as absent to date (Sondhi, 2019). Raghuram argues that the role of students in the linkages between places is under theorised and underplayed but that they can act as 'live links' (Raghuram, 2013, p. 144). My research will help fill this gap by exploring the role that the students play within the diaspora and diaspora space and the impact of their presence on transnational links. Raghuram stresses that the boundaries between student migrants and other categories of migrants are becoming less distinct, particularly as students themselves have multiple identities (Raghuram, 2013). Students are also family members, workers or possibly refugees and they vary widely according to level of study and the area studied, affecting the migration experience. A wide

diversity of experience falls under the banner of 'student migration' depending on whether the programme of study is the key attraction, the study forms part of future career plans or perhaps is a precursor to immigration after study (King and Raghuram, 2013). These boundaries, or lack thereof, become increasingly relevant in a study of a diaspora in the present where multiple actors may be categorised in different or multiple ways according to different roles they hold.

2.3.3 Time and Temporality within Diasporas

Questions of time and temporality are important for this study as one of the guiding principles is to take a long view of a diaspora, unravelling how things evolve and change over a significant period and the effect this has on people's activities and practices with regard to questions of development. Until recently, there has been a notable lack of attention to time and temporality in migration studies, but this is changing and researchers have begun to give insightful expression to this thematic area with growing interest contributing to seeing movement and non-movement as 'umbilically conjoined' (Baas and Yeoh, 2019, p. 162). The term 'temporality' is used differently within different disciplines but suggests that time is not merely fixed or natural but has multiple variants, is heterogeneous and like space, can be socially constructed (Castree et al., 2013). Griffiths et al. (2013) explored concepts of time and temporality in relation to permanence and temporariness of stay, control and power exercised through policies and governments amongst other areas. This draws on Cwerner's key insights which identified the multiple and particular ways that migrants experience time as a central part of their existence and how this can evolve over the life course, elements recognisable in the experiences of the Chilean diaspora (Cwerner, 2001). Cwerner's concepts of 'Remembered times' is key to exile and diaspora mediation of time in their day-to-day existence, drawing on the evocation of 'home' through food, music, dance and other cultural practices. This and 'Collage times' in the juxtaposition of differing images and representations of the homeland through fragmented portrayals in the media draw attention to the multiplicity of time experienced. The recreation of 'the rhythms of social life of the homeland at the heart of the host society' is a vital part of

‘Diasporic times’ (Cwerner, 2001, p. 24-28). Whilst useful categorisations in their descriptions of common practices seen within the Chilean diaspora, in their generic nature they miss the specificities of temporalities experienced by this diaspora, to be explored in later chapters.

The experience of ‘multiple, overlapping temporalities’ is evident in many explorations of time and migration (Boersma, 2019, p. 289). It creates ‘a world of links and ruptures, of multiple distortions and adjustments, and of latent and manifest conflicts’ (Cwerner, 2001, p. 18). Researchers have shown the effects of Baas and Yeoh’s umbilical cord on time in the relationship between those at ‘home’ and in diaspora around concepts of waiting. Not only do migrants and refugees themselves experience endless and multiple forms of waiting, so do those at ‘home’ who wait for their return (Ibañez Tirado, 2019). Notions of ‘staggered migrations’ relating to ‘multiple transitions across statuses and places as well as ambiguities around temporariness and permanence’ are particularly relevant to diaspora life and experience with migrants’ own experiences of time highly significant as ‘they are produced through the overlaps and intersections of multiple scales of time’ (Robertson, 2019, p. 169, p. 170). Understanding that temporalities shift and evolve, disrupting flows in status or the binary transition between one country and another, adds a further dimension to transnational lives (Robertson, 2019). Cwerner’s framework of different types of time experienced reminds us firmly that ‘all sets of times bear upon the lives of immigrants *simultaneously*’ (Cwerner, 2001, p. 18). We must therefore consider all its dimensions to understand a particular context and how time plays into the spatiality of a particular diaspora situation.

Time relating particularly to experiences of exile is often unexplored in the literature, leaving this challenge to the realm of other forms of cultural literature. Lumsden touches upon the importance of time in exile briefly but only in relation to its ‘healing’ powers, questioning its linear or cyclical nature without further elaboration (Lumsden, 1999, p. 35). Yet time as experienced by exiles is crucial to understanding their experience fully. Exiles have suffered ‘temporal ruptures’ in their violent dislocations from their homeland with the ‘cruel power’ of deportation providing especially drastic circumstances (Gibney,

2008 quoted in Griffiths, 2014, p. 2000). Time can have a liminal quality which Griffiths describes as bringing a form of suspended reality to people's experiences. She shows how an abnormal state of being can sometimes be a liberating and transformative time, free from normal social constraints and expectations. The liminal is 'a place of transition, waiting, and unknowing. It is to be caught between worlds - one known and one to come.' It is therefore simultaneously a spatial and temporal occurrence (Ali, 2020, p. 4). Seo points to the way that migrants can see a temporary stay as a form of liminal time or 'time-out' of the normal life course (Seo, 2019, p. 193), a situation relevant to the exile experience of waiting for prospect of possible return to the homeland. However, as Page et al. attest, 'you can never really 'go back' – you can only 'go on' as the 'giddy flow of time' causes irreversible changes to places and people (2017, p. 1).

Attention to the particular temporalities of student migration points to the issues with 'normal' temporal practices taken for granted in framings of student movement for self-development (Collins and Shubin, 2017, p. 1). Assumptions of progress from one 'clearly demarcated' stage to another are problematic and not necessarily 'knowable' (Collins and Shubin, 2017, p. 20). Based on Heidegger's insights into time as an innate component of the human condition, this work highlights the different directional flows experienced through migration and the unpredictable nature of life that problematises notions of planning and predictable sequences of the life course (Heidegger, 2003 cited in Collins and Shubin, 2015). The temporal categories outlined do not explicitly consider the collision between the different experiences of time between older and newer migrants or acknowledge the political temporalities experienced within a diaspora formed of exiles that subsequently incorporates new waves of migrants. The insights provide a useful starting point for analysing time within the Chilean diaspora as they highlight various aspects of the different types of temporalities at play. I will take this forward with attention to the historical foundations of Chilean migrations and the juxtaposition between the different migrant groups in order to assess the particularities of temporality here.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the key areas of research which are vital to this long view study of the UK-based Chilean diaspora and their practices in relation to their homeland. In seeking to understand the political and developmental nature of this relationship, a broad range of theories have been drawn upon that underpin the various factors at work. The diaspora development literature and its critiques, transnational approaches and multiple aspects of diaspora studies form the foundation. Attention to work on different migration categories including refugees, exiles and elites and research on temporalities bring further relevant insight. Each of these bodies of work, whilst providing necessary theoretical insight to this study, is not sufficient and does not capture the spirit and essence of the Chilean diaspora and their relationship to the development of Chile in its twists and turns over the passage over time. What each body of work lacks, another area can provide. Bringing these various fields together forges a unique take on the field which puts the long view of a diaspora at the heart of the analysis.

This chapter has exposed fundamental gaps that my argument confronts and provides answers to. There is a key gap around meanings of development within diasporas. Attention needs to be given to what development means to different diaspora members, the direction of development, whose and what development and how all of these deconstructed notions can change over time. This considers what diaspora and development might look like in alternative models to the paradigm. Related to this is a gap around awareness of the political in diasporas doing development. There is a lack of insight around the implicit nature of politics at work within diasporas and how this is articulated by different groups within it. A further important gap identified by some of the critiques mentioned is that the diaspora development model ignores the problems and tensions inherent within diasporas and fails to adequately recognise different types of people with particular experiences or backgrounds and their motivations. Finally, there is a lack of work on long iterations of diasporas and an underplay of temporality in the diaspora development literature which this thesis addresses. Critiques of diaspora and

development must be taken further temporally to unsettle notions of what diasporas can look like by moving away from snapshots of certain time periods to a much longer period of analysis. This facilitates understanding of how they evolve, the impact evolution has (on the diaspora itself and on relationships to 'home') and to provide a sensibility of temporal awareness within diaspora dynamics. My research addresses these issues by bringing together all actors and types of interactions in a single field of analysis, including elite groups like students, together with people often perceived as problems, the exiles and refugees. Whilst unpacking the internal dynamics of the diaspora, it relates different bodies of work to each other instead of separating them out artificially into predetermined categories and studying them in isolation. It is an opportunity to tease out the relationships and dynamics within diaspora collectives that affect many aspects of life including links homeward.

The fundamental principles which guide my study and respond to the identified gaps in the literature are: 1) looking at a diaspora over a long period of time showing that it is dynamic and fluid with different moving parts, not a static construct which limited short-term snapshots typically portray, 2) juxtaposing groups who are typically studied separately, 3) understanding development and diaspora interactions through space and time where development is also dynamic and fluid, in political terms and at different scales - globally, nationally, and locally. Diaspora and development are concepts which must be seen through an open and multi-dimensional lens, rather than seeing Chileans through the limited construct of the typical diaspora development model. Therefore, building up a nuanced picture of how diasporas engage in their 'home' countries involves looking at all possibilities for what development might mean for individuals and organisations. Having established this framework as the foundation of this research, I will now turn to the literature on Chile to give further context and background.

Chapter Three

Chile's History and Politics in Development and Diaspora Terms

The previous chapter gave an overview of the literature which provides the theoretical basis for this study. It began by analysing the diaspora and development paradigm together with critiques of its main ideas. It moved onto analysing different meanings of development and aspects of research on diasporas. It then considered other related areas essential to researching the Chilean diaspora - legacies of forced migration and modes of reconciliation, other migrant categories including refugees, exiles and elites, and questions of time and temporality. It identified the underplay of temporality within the diaspora and development model and problems with static and narrow interpretations of both diaspora and development, arguing for these issues to be addressed together with thematic areas mentioned above to move understandings of development and diaspora forwards. Now, we turn to the historical background and literature that exists on the Chilean diaspora.

This chapter sets the context for the evolution and dynamism of the Chilean diaspora in the UK over the last fifty years, by focusing on the major events in Chilean history which have contributed to the migration of Chileans. It does so specifically in relation to the dramatic changes in development ideals and processes relating to migration that the country experienced throughout this period. I argue that the short, sharp process of change in terms of development policy (underpinned by constitutional change under the dictatorship) ushered in a wholesale shift in Chilean life with long term irrevocable effects on Chilean society and its diaspora. At times the state has obstructed and denied citizen and diaspora involvement in development processes through systematic repression of the population, and at others, it has invited and courted involvement through active participation policies under Allende or more recently, through diaspora engagement programmes. Section 3.2 will analyse the literature available on the Chilean diaspora. One notable missing area is the absence of much academic literature on the diaspora aside from the exile cohort of the 1970s and 1980s. This small and limited body of work gives rich expression to the lives of this cohort but leaves the rest

of the diaspora invisible in the literature and the public domain. This analysis therefore focuses on the available literature, while pointing to the need for further work on other cohorts, some of which will be done in this thesis in later chapters.

3.1 Chile and the Historical Background to the ‘Development Miracle’

3.1.1 The Allende Years 1970-1973

Prior to the election of the first popularly elected Marxist president, Salvador Allende in 1970, Chile had, uniquely among developing countries, enjoyed many years of an effective strong state combined with strong political institutions and a lack of corruption. It also possessed an innovative social welfare system that implemented redistributive policies (O’Shaughnessy, 2000; Siavelis, 2005). The Allende years brought in an era that for many Chileans, represented a new time of hope and excitement for a prosperous and more equitable future. The ‘Chilean road to socialism’ promised to apply socialism by means of democratic principles and in doing so, transform Chile through agrarian and economic reforms (Burbach, 2003, p. 2; see also Angell and Carstairs, 1987). It is vital to recognise the political fervour and hope that translated directly into an awakening for many, leading to activism and lifelong political commitments, even after exile and many years overseas.

At the time of Allende’s election, Chile was typical of Latin American countries with the ruling or upper class constituting five percent of its population, but its middle class was above average at 30 percent and covered a wide range of interests (MacEoin, 1974, p. 23-25). The lower sectors were also heterogeneous, encompassing those living in the ‘*poblaciones*’ (urban shanty towns) who were unemployed, working in shifts or casually, as well as those in rural areas mired in poverty. During the 1960s, efforts by various parties to encourage community development and politicisation had been successful in generating grassroots activism, a heightened sense of community responsibility and one of the best organised working classes in Latin America (MacEoin, 1974; O’Shaughnessy, 2000). Those in power feared the development of strong political

conviction amongst those commonly and derisively known as *rotos* (broken ones), identifying that it could spell the former's demise. Before Allende, *El Mercurio*, the leading Chilean newspaper, denounced 'this seed of a vast revolutionary movement based on the formation of irregular units' (MacEoin, 1974, p. 26). After Allende's election, this 'seed' bore fruit which terrified the ruling class enough to propel it into decisive action. The political consciousness of the people had been awakened and they were involved in taking charge of their destiny in large numbers. This was supported by Allende's vision for a Chile whose development was to redistribute wealth for the greater good, abolish monopolies and progress towards a state of left-wing social democracy whilst obeying existing legal norms (O'Shaughnessy, 2000; Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1986a). Although not always portrayed as such by its critics, it is notable that Allende's Chilean project was one with inclusive development at its core. He proposed an alternative vision of development to the one that Chile had experienced before and committed to 'abolish the pillars propping up that minority that has always condemned our country to under-development' (O'Shaughnessy, 2000, p. 38). It was this alternative vision that the ruling classes, together with their external supporters from the US, feared and the desire to halt the implementation of this plan was the catalyst for what was effectively a battle of development ideologies.

3.1.2 The Military Coup and the Regime

The coup which overthrew Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973 began a period of dictatorship which lasted until 1990. Few had expected the regime to survive so long or usher in such profound change. Even those who had awaited the coup thought that the new authorities would implement a new phase of political negotiations and get the country 'back on its constitutionally mandated electoral schedule and traditions of political accommodation' (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1986a, p. 1). However, the regime persisted and became a long-lasting fixture in Chilean history, cementing its position as one of the most repressive in Latin America. A series of measures were implemented by Pinochet's junta which closed Congress, banned political parties or limited their activities, suspended national elections and dissolved the national labour

federation. Freedom of the press was restricted, local government powers curtailed and the judicial system and universities brought under the control of the state (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1986b; Wright, 2006).

In the years following the coup, thousands of citizens were tortured, killed or 'disappeared' (Burbach, 2003; Falcoff, 1989; O'Shaughnessy, 2000; Siavelis, 2005). The repressive policies of the regime persisted for many years and ongoing intimidation and systematic weeding out of anyone with past affiliations to politics or development activism (or any profession such as teacher or printer that might be considered dangerous) did much to stamp out the possibility of activism against the coup. As Valenzuela and Valenzuela point out, the literature must not overlook the fact that a political regime 'is also and primarily defined by the interplay between the state and civil society' (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1986b, p. 184). The agents previously responsible for their citizens' security were now responsible for 'kidnappings, beatings, torture and in a few cases, murders' (Falcoff, 1989, p. 295). The total destruction of civil liberties for those on the left was part of a systematic campaign to vilify them and silence those against the dictatorship. The imprisonment of thousands, executions, spying and reporting on neighbours who had supported the Unidad Popular was encouraged (Burbach, 2003). The horror of this time for those who lived through it, whether affected directly or not, was to create a climate of fear where acts of civil engagement were forbidden, and the notion of civil society denied.

By 1975, more than 14,000 people had either left Chile through fear of persecution or having been expelled from prison (Constable and Valenzuela, 1993). In 1976, Decree-Law 504 released a further number of political prisoners into immediate exile. They left for the United States, Western Europe and elsewhere, some countries such as Sweden and France being particularly welcoming to large numbers of refugees (Constable and Valenzuela, 1993; Falcoff, 1989). Exile became a deliberate tool of the regime to rid Chile of those considered undesirable who had not already been exterminated (Angell and Carstairs, 1987). Pinochet's aim to 'extirpate the root of evil from Chile' was taking clear shape (Speech by Pinochet quoted in Constable and Valenzuela, 1993, p. 38). By

1979, the official numbers in exile were more than 28,000 and some estimates were much higher. The Comité Pro-Retorno in Chile estimated between 100,000 and 200,000 and in 1982, the Chilean Commission for Human Rights gave a figure of 163,686 exiles (Angell, 2001). The regime was careful to portray exile as a positive experience which served their purpose to discredit the exiles in the eyes of the wider population and justified their repressive actions. The so-called 'golden exile' coloured the perspective of those left in Chile and served to further tarnish the reputations of those who left, positioning them as enjoying 'a comfortable, even luxurious existence' (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007, p. 35). Overseas, exiles were often monitored by DINA agents (Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia or National Intelligence Directorate) who worked in partnership with security services or right-wing groups. Most exiles were not allowed to return for at least a decade, with the letter L marked on their passports (meaning *listado* or listed) and the constitution of 1980 banned returnees who might promote anti Chilean interests or Marxist doctrines (Constable and Valenzuela, 1993). By 1980 many exiles had returned, facing a regime which had 'destroyed, apparently forever, the texture of the country's institutional civility. After September 1973, too many crimes were committed in the name of – or at the secret behest of – the country's highest authorities to make it easy to return to the disinterested rule of law' (Falcoff, 1989, p. 296). In 1982 the government began to publish lists of names of people allowed to return (Constable and Valenzuela, 1993). The effect of this policy was to continue to exert control over the exiles' lives for many years, despite them living in other countries. The experience of exile in various dimensions (to be explored later in more depth) was to a degree managed and shaped by the dictatorship in terms of its length and the narrative around it. This was to have a complicated effect on exiles and their families both whilst overseas and on their return.

3.1.3 Pinochet's Regime and its Development Project

We know today that the institutional and constitutional changes that the regime implemented have been long-lasting and effective from their point of view with regard to their ambitious development aims. Pinochet consolidated his position in June 1974

when he took the title of Supreme Chief of the Nation. He had proposed a 1977 decree law that conferred legislative powers on the four members of the Junta, making it abundantly clear that executive power was down to him alone. The unexpected plebiscite at the start of 1978, in response to the condemnation by the United Nations for Chile's human rights violations, with 75 per cent of votes supporting Pinochet, provided further (albeit questionable) legitimacy to his reign (O'Shaughnessy, 2000). Keen to increase the political legitimacy of his regime abroad, another plebiscite was held on 11 September 1980 to approve the 'New Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile'. With compulsory voting despite the lack of an electoral register to replace the one previously destroyed, 67.04 per cent of the 6,271,868 votes cast were claimed in favour of the regime (O'Shaughnessy, 2000). The new Constitution gave Pinochet another eight years of power as a minimum, with sixteen as the maximum.

Pinochet's government managed to transform the Chilean state beyond recognition, changing its fundamental role in economic, social and political life and establishing the new model of neo-liberal capitalism (Siavelis, 2005). Valenzuela and Valenzuela identified that it had 'instituted changes that are much more far reaching (though in a conservative, even reactionary way) than those which the Popular Unity government had attempted' (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1986a, p. 2). The transformation of the Chilean economy was carried out wholesale, in parallel with the social and civil shifts that would change the country irrevocably. Through their restructuring of the economic and social order in Chile, the state was able to pursue a dramatically different development agenda to anything seen before which would set Chile on a path to a different way of life forever. The technocrats known as the Chicago boys due to their training at the University of Chicago were highly influential with their commitment to free market principles. Their argument that authoritarianism was required to allow Chileans to experience a totally 'free market', unencumbered by the influences of collectivism, supported the repressive, undemocratic aims of the state. This would not have been possible in a democratic context where authorities would not have been able to withstand the pressures of other interests in an open society (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1986a, p. 3). The economic policies applied by the regime between 1973

and 1982 were a radical version of monetarist approaches popular in the 1950s in Latin America and led to Chile being proclaimed as having had an 'economic miracle' (Foxley, 1986, p. 15). The policies took the form of stabilisation together with structural changes that had long-term effects on the economy and society, privatisation, opening up to international trade and changes in the productive structure (Foxley, 1986). Chile became a 'showcase for neoclassical economics' creating a 'mood of business confidence unknown there since before the First World War' (Falcoff, 1989, p. 300). However, Foxley's overall assessment in 1986 of the Chilean position between the late 1970s and 1982, is that overall the results were negative in relation to drops in production, investment and employment, high external debt and other aspects. By 1989, Falcoff observed that '[p]erhaps in time the macroeconomic indicators will 'trickle-down', neutralize and even reverse the inegalitarian tendencies of the economic model' however his hopes have not been borne out by the passage of time (Falcoff, 1989, p. 302). The two economic crises that occurred in the mid 1970s and mid 1980s caused waves of migration due to economic decline (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007).

Whether or not Chile's economic transformation was the success it has been heralded to be in certain quarters, it is indisputable that the new constitution changed the main political institutions and decision-making processes dramatically, which persists to this day and is a source of significant concern for many. The type of economic development reforms that Chile underwent combined with the repressive nature of life under the dictatorship and the lack of human rights or civil liberties, conspired to produce a particularly narrow form of development. As Chapter Two argued, definitions and meanings of development matter immensely. The type of development advocated by Allende's government, whilst imperfect and clearly anathema to many right-wing Chileans due to being socialist, nevertheless incorporated high levels of participation and civil society, ideas which are fundamental to an inclusive notion of development (Sen, 2001, 2005). Pinochet's development project on the other hand, cannot in my view, represent development other than in the most narrow and economic of interpretations. Whilst it promoted economic development at all costs, it stifled and curtailed any form of social and political development.

3.1.4 The Return to Democracy

The return to democracy in 1990 brought in a new era for Chileans. Pinochet's constitution had enshrined his right to rule for only 8 years, the original version of 16 years being thought unpalatable and unlikely to succeed. The Concertación Por El No was successful in mobilising people from their fear to vote with conviction and the resulting win for the opposing side was a shock to the government (Falcoff, 1989). Patricio Aylwin headed the Concertación of Parties for Democracy, a coalition of centre and left-wing parties. The transition was completed by August 1991, however the state itself remained fundamentally unchanged with the constitution and institutions created under dictatorship still in effect (Siebzechner, 2006). The armed forces still had considerable powers and Pinochet himself was allowed to stay on as commander-in-chief for a further eight years (Falcoff, 1989). It was in most respects a limited form of democracy burdened with the significant challenge of dealing with the human rights violations of the past. The 'shield of impunity' and the 'amendment-proof' constitution constructed by Pinochet meant that his personal authority and that of the military remained protected for years to come (Wright, 2014, p. 35, p. 39). The judiciary behaved as it had during dictatorship years, strictly upholding the 1973 amnesty law. Justice therefore remained difficult to achieve for many years leading to disillusionment for many victims of the dictatorship. Though Aylwin established the first Truth Commission after taking office in March 1990 and the Rettig Report, as it was known, was published to general acclaim by the public, three assassinations followed shortly after which 'effectively ended public discussion' of it (Americas Watch, 1991, quoted in Hayner, 1994, p. 621). A second Truth Commission, the Valech Commission, took place in 2004 to 2005 with a reprise in 2011. Again, it had widespread public impact in shining a light on the torture and detention practices of the military regime, but fell short of its aspirations and failed to deliver on the various demands of those affected (Collins, 2017). This backdrop sets the context for the return of many exiles to Chile from many countries abroad that occurred during this period (Wright and Oñate, 1998; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). It also provides the context for the migration from Chile to the UK

that concerns us in this study, but little has been documented on this. Data gathered in the first census of Chileans overseas states that Chileans migrated to European countries in this period (especially Spain) because of favourable employment conditions (DICOEX, 2005).

The development trajectory of Chile continued apace in the 1990s with significant growth under subsequent governments. The growth performance has been attributed by some scholars to a consequence of the economic reforms implemented in the 1970s and 1980s, the *good policies hypothesis*, and by others to the favourable combination of a beneficial external environment, plentiful capital inflows and advantageous trade terms, the *good luck hypothesis* (Jadresic and Zahler, 2000, p. 3). Jadresic and Zahler (2000) contend that it was a combination of good policies and improvement in the political situation that caused this growth to occur. The first Concertación administration promoted their development strategy under the slogan 'Growth with Equity' to demonstrate that social equity was now being incorporated alongside the fundamentally unchanged economic system that the military regime had left in place (Vial, 2000). This progress led to increased levels of living standards among the population but after eight years of the Concertación, concern was growing over continued inequality, lack of attention to the environment and daily problems to do with crime and violence experienced by the population leading to the acknowledgement that the model could fail without 'a shared commitment to solidarity capable of reducing the gaps in power, income, and opportunities that currently divide our society' (Vial, 2000, p. 205). Despite the success of the Concertación governments in continuing the democratic transition over their twenty years in power between 1990 and 2010, Sehnbruch and Siavelis (2014) argue that due to the extent of continued domination by the elites, the failure to address this and respond to demands of the populace have had a detrimental effect on political participation, levels of engagement and confidence in democracy. Absolute poverty levels have declined but Chile remains one of the most unequal countries in the world and while the country boasts world class health care and education that caters to the rich, the poor remain excluded from these opportunities. Governments have been subject to 'the tensions of achieving social progress within the confines of an economy

that still largely adheres to the principles laid out by a neoliberal dictatorship, which privatized social services as far as possible, reduced the size of the state, and limited its tax base' (Sehnbruch and Siavelis, 2014, p. 4). These limitations have seen Chile grow and realise OECD status whilst retaining many of the features that still constrain its development in broad terms.

Several features of Chile's development policy in the 2000s relating to growing interest in the potential for diaspora engagement and investment in postgraduate education have had direct impact on the Chilean diaspora in certain countries. ChileGlobal, a diaspora knowledge network funded initially by the World Bank, was set up in 2005. Devised in response to growing international interest in diasporas and their development potential, this programme emerged from the World Bank's Diaspora for Development programme achieving national development objectives through utilising the skills of the diaspora. Malecki stresses that early iterations of this programme were explicitly non-partisan and deliberately bypassed the political diaspora, drawing on entrepreneurial knowledge and expertise from Chileans in the US and Canada. The programme has evolved and grown to incorporate a variety of initiatives, some directed at the UK-based diaspora which includes the increasingly numerous student population (Malecki, 2017). The creation of Becas Chile in 2007, which superseded smaller and less ambitious initiatives, was to provide scholarships for studying abroad. Continuing to this day, it has been a significant investment designed in support of increasing Chile's human capital through improving professional and technical capacity. Applicants are required to relate the relevance of their proposed studies to national priorities (OECD and the World Bank, 2010). The effect of this programme has been to swell numbers of young Chileans overseas particularly in the United States, Europe and the UK. A British education confers a certain cachet in Chile which partly explains the significant numbers who came to study here. Estimates from the Chilean consulate in London indicate that numbers of Chileans in the UK increased to approximately 7000 in 2014 from 5,488 in 2007. The vast majority of students who were interviewed for this study were recipients of government grants. Having looked at the progression of the causes and background to the emergence of the diaspora in the 1970s and the trajectory of the country through

its phases of dictatorship and democracy in relation to differing visions of development enacted over these years, we turn now to an analysis of the existing literature on the Chilean diaspora.

3.2 The Chilean Diaspora in the Literature:

Neither One nor the Other - Being Chilean in the Diaspora

This thesis takes Chile to explore the under researched areas outlined in Chapter Two, whereby Chile offers the potential to trace how migration and the evolution of a diaspora over time has interplayed with development dynamics as the country has moved from being 'developing' through 'middle-income' to 'developed'. Simultaneously, it permits the deconstruction and unsettling of notions of development. The UK-based Chilean diaspora today is an under researched and somewhat unknown quantity. Whilst empirical work has been done on other diasporas in the UK, on Chilean exiles during the Pinochet years, and on Chileans elsewhere, the Chilean diaspora as a whole in the UK today remains invisible. This section focuses on the existing literature about the Chilean diaspora, looking at the small body of work on UK-based Chileans and drawing on research on Chileans around the world to gain a comprehensive picture of research to date. I will clarify the different areas that have been researched and identify the gaps that remain. In keeping with the parameters of my research, I will focus on the experiences of the diaspora members themselves, rather than the technical mechanisms that enabled people to leave Chile and settle legally in other countries.

3.2.1 From Chile to the World

The coup d'état on September 11, 1973 was the start of a systematic process of repression. Forced exile was a central tool of the dictatorship's aim to eradicate the Chilean Left alongside large-scale interrogations and disappearances (Angell and Carstairs, 1987). Approximately 4000 people were expelled from the country, however many more fled in increasing terror for their lives. Thus, the creation of the diaspora and the dispersal of the Chilean population in more than 200 countries around the world

began (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011, Bolzman, 2002). Many researchers are certain that what happened in Chile 'clearly constituted a diaspora - a forced dispersion of a defined group to multiple sites that lasted a substantial time during which transnational ties to the homeland were maintained' (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). Despite having refugee status, the Chileans in the UK identify as exiles, a reflection of their political past and the temporary time spent overseas (Sznajder and Roniger, 2009). For some, of course, this time has become permanent. The Chilean exiles were a diverse group and whilst difficult to determine exactly who they were, researchers generally agree that middle- and upper-class backgrounds were in the majority (Angell and Carstairs, 1987). Virtually every left-wing party was re-established overseas, mainly in Europe as almost the whole of the Left's leadership that had not been disappeared or imprisoned were exiled (Roniger et al., 2017).

The numbers of Chileans who settled in the UK were small compared to those who went to other destinations such as Argentina, Mexico, Sweden or Canada. Over 2,000 Chileans settled in Britain in the mid 1970s though almost five times as many sought residency. Until the change from Conservative to a Labour government in 1974, very few Chileans were granted asylum. Liberal Sweden had already granted 806 Chileans refugee status by July 1974 compared to only 84 in Britain, despite detailed information on the torturous repression taking place having reached the British government. The advent of the new Labour government with its pro-Allende contingent saw an immediate change in policy to consider asylum requests more sympathetically (Beckett, 2003). As the dictatorship continued, Chileans who had left after the military coup required permission from the Chilean authorities to return and indeed most were not allowed to, with some losing citizenship altogether. The Chilean authorities began to allow small numbers of exiles to return from 1983 onwards (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011; Bolzman, 2002).

Research conducted amongst Chilean exiles in different countries demonstrates the sense of division, mainly along political and class lines, that existed within the diaspora after the coup. Even amongst people affiliated with leftist politics, there were numerous

factions (Calandra, 2013; Roniger et al., 2017; Wright and Oñate, 1998). However, other accounts indicate a somewhat different view. 'As Chileans...when we identified ourselves as Chileans there was an immediate attraction, you know? That's the first thing that connects us, being Chilean, and for the most part, as Chileans, not all, but most of us connect instantly, we become friends, and five minutes later it's as if we'd known each other forever' (quote from a US-based Chilean exile, in Calandra, 2013, p. 318). Roniger et al. argue that in exile, political solidarity was able to blur and largely efface class and rank differences (Roniger et al., 2017). Calandra sees a sense of belonging to the people in her sample despite their differences. The notion of 'Chileanness' is constructed by 'past political affiliation and activism' but also 'through other practices and means of expression that affected the relationship between the different communities' (Calandra, 2013, p. 137). These conflicting accounts bear out Brah's point mentioned in Chapter Two about the way the same space can articulate different histories (Brah, 1996).

3.2.2 'Host' Country Support and Organisations

Shortly after the coup in 1973, London became a hub for various support groups and political organisations active at the time. The Chile Solidarity Campaign and Chile Committee for Human Rights were set up in 1973 and early 1974 respectively, in response to the coup. The World University Service (WUS), an international organisation that places refugees in foreign countries to study, was instrumental in assisting with the settlement of a number of Chileans in the UK as was Academics for Chile (Beckett, 2003). The Joint Working Group for Refugees supported by British trade unions was a key member of this support network (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020). The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), a Chilean left revolutionary group formed in the 1960s, was one of the groups that had a London presence. The MIR took its main inspiration from the Cuban revolution, which they aspired to recreate in Chile, and was involved in actively trying to overthrow the Pinochet government (Beckett, 2003). One of the main goals of the regime in the early days following the coup was to

root out the leaders and branches of the MIR which they largely succeeded in doing. The organisation still exists today in Chile as a political party.

External actors were critical to the effort of getting people safely out of Chile and into new countries, and during the periods of settlement. A new country context, which can be both enabling and alienating, can be a source of additional support from local activists (another area that the migration development nexus tends to pay insignificant attention to) with the acts of solidarity the exiles benefited from providing 'a source of inspiration' (Hirsch, 2016b, p. 257). A key particularity enjoyed by the Chilean exiles was their reception in most of the countries into which they moved. Roniger et al stress that their case was a '*cause célèbre*' for Europeans, providing official and public support including marches, boycotts and demonstrations. In Britain, Wilson's Labour government together with academics and trade union officials organised practical essentials like housing, language classes, training and local networks, and similar initiatives took place in Sweden and other Western European countries, Canada and Australia (Hirsch, 2016b; Perry, 2016; Roniger et al., 2017). However, support offered focused on practical issues and bypassed mental health concerns, which Gideon says can be attributed to the fact that PTSD had not yet been 'discovered' (Gideon, 2016, p. 325). In the UK, uniquely, the Chilean case had great breadth of support from many quarters, bringing together a diverse set of British actors which had a direct impact on British foreign policy (Livingstone, 2020). Interactions in their host countries played a key role in shaping the ideas and practices of the exiles. The international dimension of the global solidarity movement was vital to Chilean politics in providing opposition to the Pinochet regime, much more so than with other Latin American dictatorships (Angell, 2001; Roniger, 2016). Despite modern interest in the transnationality phenomenon, the Chilean solidarity movement is another body of evidence that transnationality is nothing new. The campaign was given global attention and support by a 'transnational web of solidarity groups, NGOs and international organizations' at a host of different levels and scales which made the Chilean situation relevant to local struggles and drew attention from both East and West (Christiaens, 2018, p. 414).

A second wave of diasporic activity followed Pinochet's arrest in 1998 when the diaspora was re-invigorated with a 'Pandora's Box' of memory opened up (Doña-Reveco, 2020, p. 10). Regular protests on the streets of London by a variety of both anti and pro Pinochet supporters demonstrated a level of feeling and commitment to a cause that reignited support and old allegiances (Ramírez, 2012). Landolt and Goldring's study of Colombians and Chileans in Canada stresses the importance of the non-migrant activists, and the collaboration between them and the migrant activists; the context and interaction are both important and defining. Canadian activists were instrumental in pushing for Chilean refugees to be accepted by the government and were active in the refugees' selection and settlement. The facilitating nature of the Canadian context and the role of the activists had an important enabling effect on the Chilean exiles and their continued activity. Conversely, the Chilean organisations and their work also had a significant and lasting impact on the Canadian activists' way of working (Landolt and Goldring, 2010). The idea that the new country context plays a vital role for the diaspora, or in other words, the 'place' of diaspora having a defining function, illustrates the importance of clarifying what precisely this role is. It points to the need to analyse the differences in experience of belonging to the diaspora and the relationship to one's country of settlement. The Chilean experience in the UK remains to be investigated and assessed in depth in order to identify what the dynamics of this relationship are.

3.2.3 Feelings about 'Home'

Chilean exiles have been studied by means of diaspora formation, experience and return 'home' (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011; Wright and Oñate, 1998;). The experience of exile and the time when it begins is contingent on many factors. For López Zarzosa, it began in Chile itself on being made redundant from her role at university. 'This was exile without moving. Almost all that I identified with was destroyed' (López Zarzosa, 1998, p. 190). Within the limited work on the Chilean diaspora, there is significant attention paid to the idea of 'home' and what it means to people. Research on those whose fate was linked to the dawn of military rule commonly describes a lack

of ability to settle, continually living out of a suitcase waiting to be able to go 'home' contributing to a sense of living in limbo and a sense of existing neither fully in one place nor the other (Beckett, 2003; Wright and Oñate, 1998). Early on in the diaspora trajectory, many people lived with the continual idea that return to Chile was imminent. High levels of political activism prior to exile with the creation of a plan for a struggle against the dictatorship meant that people expected exile to be short (Roniger et al., 2017). 'We will return soon' was an ongoing mantra for many, but other exiles did not experience this phenomenon of 'living with the suitcases packed' and attempted to focus on building a new life in their country of settlement (Wright & Oñate, 1998, p. 125). Research on the repatriation of Chileans from Norway debates the notion of the 'mythical homeland' held by the Chileans in exile (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011, p. 8) also seen highlighted by Hirsch as a 'romanticized notion of return....as a means of recovering a lost Chilean past remembered in the diaspora.' Hirsch also contends that return was associated with the idea of the recreation of the lost political struggle that could be revived when back in Chile (Hirsch, 2016a, p. 87).

Some researchers have claimed to identify a new phase of exile that began in the mid 1980s, even terming it 'the twilight of the exile experience' (rather prematurely in my opinion) (Hoopes, 2017, p. 182). Based on findings from the Chilean diaspora in Canada, these studies found that around this time, those remaining in Canada began to become more embedded in their host countries 'to the point of feeling more at home...than in Chile' (Hoopes, 2017, p. 183; Peddie, 2014; Shayne, 2009). The Vancouver-based diaspora seem to have played little role in the move to defeat Pinochet after 1985. Hoopes contends that this was a result of disillusionment amongst the Chilean Left and a sense of being irrelevant coupled with a gradual move towards being more at one with life in Canada. This lack of involvement was quite unlike the UK where solidarity organisations remained active until Pinochet was deposed in 1990 through the accomplishments of the global networks that 'can be attributed, in no small measure, to the efforts of the exiles' (Wright and Oñate, 1998, p. 151).

Return to Chile is an area which has been largely overlooked in the work on Chilean exiles. Despite being allowed to return through a policy change in 1984, many remained in their host countries having established lives there, and out of ongoing fear and uncertainty about life at 'home' (Wright, 1995). The National Office of Return operated from 1990 to 1994 assisting returnees in reintegrating into society. Exact numbers of those who returned are unknown. The Office recorded 56,000 during its time of operation but many exiles returned later on (Hirsch, 2016a). Return 'home' has been analysed in relation to politics, with Wright and Oñate Zuñiga finding that the exile experience was central to a reconfiguration of Chilean politics and Hite showing how returned exile politicians contributed to Chile's new political arena (Hite, 2000; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). Return was a complex decision often involving multiple generations. Chileans settled in the UK sometimes returned to Chile with entire families having grown up in exile. Children often found it difficult to adapt to the rigid Chilean education system and shifts in gender relations that had occurred before and during exile (with women taking on new roles) were thrust backwards again, causing difficulty in re-adapting to constraints in Chilean life (Kay, 1988; López Zarzosa, 1998).

The 'homeland' that the exiles remembered was at odds with the reality they encountered on their return, a phenomenon common to other diasporas (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020; Percival, 2013). Significant political and economic changes along with different behaviour, values and social interaction meant that their hopes for a more equitable society with high levels of political participation were disappointed. Hirsch points to the sharp juxtaposition of the past and the new Chilean present in the act of return, a distinct clash which caused significant distress for some people. Issues encountered were due to 'the lack of public space within Chile to remember a past central to their exile' (Hirsch, 2016a, p. 83). One of the interviewees in Askeland and Sonneland's study is quoted as saying 'In a way, we live in the past' and another, 'You will never again be a Chilean like all the others' (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011, p. 9, p. 12). Researchers point to the sense of disillusionment suffered by many who returned. The 'beautiful return' Inti Illimani (a popular folk group exiled in Europe) had sung of did not exist but was instead a much more complex and troubled experience involving

difficulties adjusting to the new reality, trouble finding work, the need to hide one's exiled past, continued fear and a strong sense of dislocation (Hirsch, 2016a, p. 91). For the 'failed returnee', one option was to return to the UK, which many did (López Zarzosa, 1998, p. 197).

3.2.4 *Culture as Resistance*

The public expression of Chilean identity has had a strong cultural dimension to it. Much research focuses on left wing resistance to the Pinochet regime depicting the work of solidarity movements. *Arpilleras* (burlap pictures) have been used to document pain and brutality through colourful folk art sewn onto pieces of cloth. Often incorporating photographs or clothing belonging to the 'disappeared', the *arpilleras* documented the reality of life under Pinochet. In Vancouver, women exiles played a special role as producers of exile political culture (Shayne, 2009). These cultural practices had several practical dimensions to them. They publicised the cause while simultaneously raising funds to send to Chile in support of the anti-Pinochet effort. They also formed part of a contribution to the political work in making people feel useful, recovering their sense of identity and as a means of processing their trauma (Adams, 2013). Calandra (2013) and Landolt and Goldring (2010) comment on the success of the Chilean diaspora in organising and communicating their cause, with more fruitful outcomes than those of the Argentinian and Colombian diasporas to which the Chileans are contrasted. Many cultural activities were organised within a political and solidarity framework (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011). Roman-Velazquez describes a Chilean *peña* (folk music venue) in the 1980s in London, which was started by an exile, Nacho Galvez. This took place weekly in a Soho bar as a meeting place for Chilean exiles but it soon attracted others. Poet and composers shared their work including protest songs as a form of solidarity (Roman-Velazquez, 1996). Similar initiatives can be seen in other countries where the diaspora is located, such as the La Peña cultural centre in Berkeley, California. This was set up in 1975 by Chilean exiles and other sympathisers as a centre for opposition to the regime. It has evolved today into a cultural centre with a focus on the connections between art and politics primarily with Latin American communities.

3.2.5 *The Gender Dimension*

The majority of scholarship on Chilean exiles worldwide has largely ignored the gendered dimensions of exile and focused on the spaces where masculinity tends to prevail, the political and public spheres. A few lone scholars have drawn attention to this omission. López Zarzosa has highlighted the shifts that took place even before leaving Chile, where women took on masculine roles that their imprisoned husbands could not, leading to a dual performance of roles. Women were able to realise capabilities and develop skills that in some cases even they had previously not known they were capable of (Kay, 1988; López Zarzosa, 1998; Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020). Research with exiles in Scotland during the dictatorship revealed the strongly gendered and classed dimensions of this experience. Middle-class women who had worked outside the home in Chile and employed a maid, had a different experience of being female with some independence, in contrast to those working-class women who had not been able or allowed to work by their husbands. Kay observed that the politicised men would play down the differences in housing compared to how they lived before thereby denying the importance of material differences, but for some women it mattered. Some working-class women had a better standard than before in Scotland and some middle-class women a much worse standard (Kay, 1988).

Support programmes for exiles in host countries were focused mainly on the direct victims of repression, ignoring the indirect repression women had faced. Needs of the women themselves were historically overlooked, due to their arrival and categorisation as a 'wife of' the men who were focused upon (Gideon, 2018, p. 229). López Zarzosa shows that in their design and focus, support initiatives including the WUS and exile organisations themselves all served to prioritise the men and marginalise the experience of the women. For the female exiles in Vancouver, 'it was not the parties that propelled them to organize' (Shayne, 2009, p. 212). As in the UK, they felt compelled to do so to fill in the gaps that the male-oriented services and systems had ignored (López Zarzosa, 2011; Shayne, 2009). Men rebuilt and reconstructed themselves in exile by reviving party activity. Women had 'a more daunting task, having

to reconstruct their foothold in both the public and private spheres under transformed conditions' (Kay, 1987, p. 71). The activities they carried out were strongly gendered, complying with traditional 'feminine' ones such as craft, music and dance and in the political sphere, cooking the food for fundraising purposes rather than public speaking (Gideon, 2018, p. 236). The gendered nature of exile spaces are again shown within the space of La Cancha, the football field where men gathered to play and discuss politics informally and women provided food (Ramírez, 2014).

3.2.6 Political Reframings

The political mobilisation of the UK-based Chilean diaspora whether framed explicitly as resistance or through a cultural lens, can be read as a classic example of 'diaspora politics'. The main waves of activity for the initial exile led organisations in the UK were largely led by diaspora politics. Bolzman (2011) draws on Østergaard-Nielsen's (2003) definitions of 'diaspora' or 'homeland politics' to define activities directed at the improvement of human, religious or ethnic rights in the country of origin to democratise a political regime. 'Immigrant politics' is defined as actions designed to improve the situation of immigrants in the host country vis a vis their rights, and 'emigrant politics' addresses 'the transnational status of migrants as residents of a foreign country seeking to further their status and rights (such as voting rights) in their home country'. 'Local-local' politics seeks to improve migrant communities of origin through involvement in local development processes of political participation (Bolzman, 2011, p. 145; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003). These categories of transnational modes of political participation provide a useful means to read Chilean diaspora activity in the UK. After many years in the UK and disillusion over the evolution of political and social life in Chile, the remaining exiles found new ways to harness their political interests, reshaping their engagement and activities to broader concerns (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020).

Bolzman's study of Chileans in Switzerland shows diaspora politics has remained relevant post-dictatorship, but that recently emigrant politics has become more important. The centrality of diaspora politics to the political transnationality of the

diaspora is due to the fact that the upholding of human rights has remained a key pillar of their focus (Bolzman, 2011). It is on this basis, alongside the continuation of homeland politics in the ongoing demand for rights (for example, for the indigenous Mapuche people), that the Swiss based organisations have continued to function. These organisations have evolved to represent the Chilean community in Switzerland and to serve as interlocutors with the Chilean and Swiss governments. With the return of democracy in the early 1990s, the recognition that many Chileans would remain permanently in Switzerland led to the emergence of emigrant politics as a source of mobilisation. Key issues on their agenda were dual nationality, the automatic granting of citizenship to children born abroad and voting from abroad in parliamentary and presidential elections (Bolzman, 2011). This continuation of activity demonstrates the involvement of the diaspora in developmental processes back 'home' at the national level.

The objectives of the UK associations set up by Chilean exiles in the 1970s were protest, solidarity and diaspora politics to coordinate resistance against the political regime (Angell, 2001). The focus of the diaspora has since shifted without losing sight of the foundation on which they were based (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020). As the temporal and spatial context in which they are located has changed, one might expect the diaspora and their objectives to change as well. In addition, the UK diaspora itself has evolved as Chileans have arrived more recently for economic, family or educational reasons. Diasporas are often reframed in step with political and social change. This is echoed in Sørensen's (2012) comments on current perceptions of migrants, pointing to the contradictions of them being viewed as both potential 'heroes' i.e. agents of international development, and yet also as a threat to national and global security. From the early days of the coup, and throughout Pinochet's rule, the many thousands of Chilean exiles scattered across the globe were portrayed by the Chilean state as traitors and enemies of development and progress (Beckett, 2003). The reinstatement of democracy in 1990 has brought more positive views of the diaspora officially. Today, the Chilean government actively promotes a policy of diaspora engagement with the aim of benefiting the country.

3.2.7 *Present Times*

A few recent studies in the UK have sought to explore further aspects of exile lives. Cognisant of the fact that time is slipping away and many of the remaining exiles here have passed away, coupled with the 40 Years On campaign that took place in 2013, a flurry of interest in the remaining group has occurred. Ramírez has explored diasporic spaces in her ethnographic accounts of *El Piquete de Londres* (2012) and *La Cancha* (2014) and together with Serpente (2012) has analysed a tree-planting memorial ceremony by Ecomemoria, a multigenerational activist organisation formed during the London pickets comprising Chilean exiles and supporters. These studies give rich detail to these sites and spaces and bring to life vividly the experience of being present at such events. Ecomemoria's commemorative practices which take place globally, relate to those in Chile, demanding a space for the survivors and capturing the intense sense of diaspora space that such events create with their transcendence of '*here and there*' (Hite and Collins, 2009; Ramírez and Serpente, 2012). This particular study also draws attention to the many temporalities at work within this diasporic process, in particular the performance of a well-known Leftist call and response connecting 'to other places and times' and overall, stresses 'the importance of looking at diasporas' inventive ways of delineating new spaces of remembrance in the current transnational and post-dictatorial context' (Ramírez and Serpente, 2012, p. 196).

In spite of substantial research on truth commissions and transitional justice processes globally and in Chile, this work has not captured the voices of exiles within these processes. The politics of 'oblivion and memory' have been a deliberate strategy to leave behind a particular version of the past (Roniger and Sznajder, 1999). While Chile has come some way to dealing with aspects of the dictatorship like killings, torture and disappearances and the creation of sites of memory, attention has not been given to the exploration of the memory of exile and 'the disappearance of national and personal dreams' (Doña-Reveco, 2020, p. 5). In addition, exile has not been the subject of much scholarship in Chile itself, though it has received attention elsewhere. This is due in part to the negative portrayal of exiles by the regime and those who remained in Chile during

the dictatorship and also resentment regarding benefits that exiles who returned were given. Doña-Reveco argues that because the exiles did not take part in the cathartic processing of events that occurred in the transition period in Chile, they have not come to terms with the fear they hold like those who were in Chile (Doña-Reveco, 2020). The lasting traumatic effect on exiles is also noted by other researchers, in particular the long-term impacts on health and well-being (Gideon, 2016, 2018; Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020). Work on transitional justice and processes of reconciliation has been documented with a small focus on the role of exiles and the diaspora. 'Exiles in Europe and North America have been instrumental in shaping their country's transitional justice processes' specifically through skills and expertise honed in developing relationships with activists during their time in exile (Wiebelhaus-Brahm, 2016, p. 27). In general, the voice of exiles in these processes in Chile has not been fully heard and acknowledged and more work in this area is required.

Despite interest in Chile's political past within academia and more widely, and its present in economic and development circles, there has been a curious, noticeable dearth of attention paid to its diaspora aside from the exile group. Notwithstanding the fact that Chile was one of the early proponents to utilise the diaspora development model in its creation of ChileGlobal, encouraged by the World Bank Diaspora for Development programme in 2005, only work by Malecki (2017) and Pollack (2013) has sought to examine this in detail. This talent network facilitates the sharing of skills by the Chilean diaspora with the Chilean business sector and by 2011 over 74 companies had benefitted from this process (Agunias and Newland, 2012). Malecki's work shows how attempts by the Chilean state to create a neutral, business focused knowledge network were reshaped by the political nature of the diaspora. It pointed to the tensions inherent within such programmes and the ways that these play out and have unforeseen effects. It is notable that he argues that ChileGlobal is 'a form of neoliberal governmentality that seeks to govern and discipline expatriate groups from a distance' along with the discovery that in doing so, it gave rise to 'collective expressions of discontent' and 'critical spaces of resistance' (Malecki, 2017, p. 231-233). Aside from these analyses on this particular programme and some minor attention to entrepreneur networks

(Kuznetsov, 2008), there has not been any study of the diaspora itself more widely, its evolution since the exiles and a more diffuse analysis of development by the diaspora outside of the state-led programme confines.

3.3 Conclusion

This Chapter has examined the historical context for the creation of the globally dispersed Chilean diaspora, looking first at the political changes that occurred in the 1970s which led to the establishment of a military dictatorship and the subsequent transition to democracy. It has also examined the breadth of research on the Chilean diaspora concluding that substantial interest in the dictatorship period and the global solidarity networks that arose has provided scholarship on the Chilean exiles in the UK and elsewhere. This includes studies which have looked at various aspects of the exile experience as it has traced the passage of time. There is however a complete lack of research on subsequent migrations from Chile to the UK after 1990 aside from the studies on ChileGlobal mentioned (Malecki, 2017; Pollack, 2013). This means that there has been virtually no empirical data gathered on the Chileans who have joined the exiles here, nor any analysis on how these new migrations may have affected the existing Chileans and the dynamics of the diaspora. Aside from the exile population here, the rest of the Chileans in the UK are unknown. Existing research on Chileans in the UK leaves many questions unanswered. Research on the Chilean diaspora to date has only told the partial story of those who left during dictatorship. There has been no analysis of how political and social change in Chile and the gradual achievement of 'developed' status have altered dynamics within the diaspora, between people who were once on different sides and people who arrived in different periods. It is unknown how these changes have affected the operation and focus of the Chilean organisations that exist in the UK and is unclear how the return of exiles to Chile has affected the community and what if any involvement they retain with the diaspora or with regard to development.

Chapters Two and Three have drawn together the literature to provide a theoretical foundation for the study of the Chilean diaspora in the United Kingdom. It has been argued that theoretical and empirical critiques of the diaspora development discourse provide a useful lens from which to study the Chilean diaspora in depth. By simultaneously exposing flaws in the dominant paradigm and enriching understanding of the complex workings of diaspora worlds over time, I will show how this diaspora has understood and engaged in development over the last almost fifty years, re-framing and re-fashioning it in response to changing events and perspectives. Looking at the whole diaspora, this research seeks to highlight diaspora members other than exiles and examine interactions between the different groups. This is done specifically to take forward the critiques of diaspora driven development mentioned previously, looking at conflicting modes of transnationality, the shifting contexts of place and space and how politics and development relate to diaspora activities. The theories discussed offer alternative ways to think about this diaspora to mitigate against the one-sided portrayal in the literature to date that focuses firmly on the experience of exiles. Whilst these experiences are vital to an understanding of the diaspora, empirical work to capture the experiences of others is essential for a better understanding of who the diaspora consists of and what they do. It is these knowledge gaps around temporal change, the wider diaspora other than exiles, and diaspora activity viewed from a developmental perspective that this research seeks to fill. This study of the Chilean diaspora therefore delves further and over a longer temporal period (from the 1970s to the present) into the empirical and conceptual gap that exists around how, why and when people leave their homeland, impacts upon their membership of a diaspora and whether their activities can be viewed as developmental. It seeks to understand the diaspora relationship to Chile's development by looking at the historical progression of the diaspora over fifty years, analysing the perspectives of those who left at different times and from different places. In the next chapter, we will turn to the methodology that facilitated this process.

Chapter Four

Creating a Temporally-Embedded Methodology

Chapter Two looked at existing theories of diaspora and development and associated fields of migration studies relating to refugees, exiles and students. It argued that insufficient attention has been paid to diaspora and development engagement, leaving a need for deeper investigation of the meanings of these terms in the practices and experiences of diasporans. Chapter Three looked at the Chilean context in the 1970s which led to the formation of the Chilean diaspora globally and in the UK. It examined the development and political trajectory of Chile over the time period of this study - the 1970s to the present. It argued that this temporally-extended study of the Chilean case offers an important counterpoint to prevailing notions of diaspora and development, providing a focused examination of how the development trajectory of the 'home' country, in this case transitioning to 'high income' status, intersects with and shapes diaspora engagement. This methodology responds to this theoretical and historical background, having reflected on the most appropriate way to design and carry out a study of the Chilean diaspora in the UK over a long time period.

In approaching the design and planning of the research, I drew on my extensive experience with Chile and Chilean contacts. I had been interested in Chile from a young age, when I met a friend of my uncle, Sheila Cassidy, a well-known British doctor who was tortured by the Pinochet government.¹ This formative experience, together with many years of studying Spanish to fluency and pursuing my interest in Spain and Latin America, led to the decision to spend the year abroad of my languages degree in Chile. This was followed by more visits over the years and the establishment of firm friendships and a wide base of contacts. This interest in Chile combined with my own family experience of migration and the long-term effects this had on my parents, led me to explore some of the issues I had experienced personally through a more rigorous academic process.

¹ See *Audacity to Believe* by Sheila Cassidy for an account of her time in Chile.

Considering my own positionality and the effect it has had on this study, both in design and content, some background may be helpful. My parents had experienced great loss in status from professionals with a high standard of living, from well-known families in Malta, to being greatly unsettled through their unexpected move to England due to political pressures which curtailed their professional lives and freedom. This disruption of identity combined with the stresses of being homeless initially and lack of similar professional opportunities had significant impacts on their lives, well-being and indeed their marriage. Their decision to return to Malta after eighteen years was complex and multi-dimensional, leaving me behind here as a first year undergraduate but taking my younger brother with them. On returning to Malta, they faced resentment from many of those who had remained through the difficult years of political and social repression (similar to the Chilean case), one factor amongst many that made it difficult to adjust to life there. Ultimately, my father was unable to adapt and returned to England permanently.

I share this background as it was fundamental to my burgeoning interest in the Chilean exile experience of migration. My initial year in Chile revealed some similarities in the experience of many Chileans who had gone to England and then returned to Chile. As I explored these issues through various contacts I had made and over the years, began to read the literature about many countries, it revealed that many migrants share some of these characteristics. Their experiences, whilst always contextually individual, nevertheless hold echoes and resonance across the histories and geographies of exile and other forms of migration. This was the original heart of my interest in this subject. I also have a professional interest in migration and development and the role of diasporas in country-of-origin development from working with refugee and migrant NGOs. The research project emerged over a long period of time which had equipped me with the necessary skills and knowledge of Chile to be well placed to tackle these research questions.

This chapter will first look at the research questions which have been designed to question some of the set thinking around diasporas, development and politics. As discussed in Chapter Two, diasporas are frequently framed and viewed within particular parameters, and even more so with relation to their development activities. The questions seek to challenge these parameters and will assess and analyse the Chilean diaspora in a way that captures key features of its diversity and dynamism, particularly in terms of its political identities and development over time. I will discuss the approach taken in the design of the methodology drawing on an ethnographic sensibility as adapted to the nature of the project. I will then look in detail at the structure of the fieldwork with the aims of each phase discussed together with an assessment of the work carried out in detail, and the challenges faced in doing so.

4.1 The Research Questions

The overall aim of these research questions is to investigate and explore the gaps identified of the meanings, diversity and the dynamism of diaspora-development linkages as they relate to the Chilean diaspora in the past and today and the wider field of diaspora-development engagement. The questions have been broken down into one principle question and three sub questions which tackle different aspects of this.

Over the last fifty years, to what extent has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged with 'home' and can their transnational practices be seen as developmental?

This principal research question was designed to take a historical and temporal approach to understand whether and how Chilean migrants have come together as a collective entity in the UK. It was important to approach it this way to chart the changing nature of the diasporic experience in relation to different causes of migration and the changing political environment in Chile. The question aimed to examine the different levels at which people operate on the spectrum of collectivity, and simultaneously, to assess the utility of notions of diaspora in understanding this. The different types of Chileans who have moved to the UK do not always fit the ideas of diaspora that have

become established in the diaspora-development literature and policy field. Through exploring individual narratives of people's lives as diasporans, this question aimed to unravel the workings of the diaspora world and explored how individuals position themselves within it. Analysis of the motivations and perspectives of a range of different people who left Chile at different times provided a basis for assessing the extent to which the diaspora operates as a collective whole and where the foundations of division may lie. As such, the question of how people identify themselves as Chileans or Chileans with particular affiliations was explored.

This project focused on the individual experience of being part of a diaspora through temporal change and from different contexts of leaving the homeland. Individual perspectives were used to explore how people have related to diaspora organisations within their everyday lives and how important these have been to their wider transnational activities. It is vital to include organisations as they demonstrate very clearly the core preoccupations of the diaspora at different times over the last forty years. This approach facilitated investigation of how organisations have come in and out of people's life narratives at different stages and in relation to particular events. The advantage of looking at this through the perspectives of diaspora members is that it allowed them to reveal in what ways these organisations play a role in their lives, rather than placing the organisation at the centre of the investigation. It widens the lens to focus on what particular transnational practices the diaspora places importance upon.

The research focuses on the relationship between the diaspora and Chile in terms of social relationships that provide the basis for what might be termed development action. These relationships may be at a personal, community, organisational or national level. Links were traced between diaspora members and their contacts in Chile, and diaspora organisations and their collaborative partners in Chile. Exploring how people shape themselves as diaspora members was investigated through an analysis of how people communicate and publicly perform their identity as a member of a diaspora. A thorough investigation of different types of diaspora individual and collective action enabled an assessment of what is considered developmental. Development itself was analysed

through a much more open view that follows diasporic understandings of what their everyday practices and development itself mean. In addition, the stated aims of collective action and activities matter, to ascertain whether they seek to benefit Chile (or particular areas or groups within it) or alternatively the development of diaspora members themselves. These two aims are not mutually exclusive and what is most important here is the idea that some type of development is taking place which enables further investigation of what development really means to the diaspora.

Research Sub Questions

The overall research question was broken down into three sub questions in order to explore the different elements necessary to answer the principle research question. These sub questions were used to guide the research process and referred to throughout the fieldwork to orient the design and implementation of the research activities.

1. *To what degree has a UK-based Chilean diaspora emerged over time and who does it consist of?*

This question focused on gathering detailed empirical data on the UK-based Chilean diaspora. In the absence of much available official data, to gain an accurate picture of Chileans in the UK, it was necessary to scope out how and to what extent a Chilean diaspora has formed in the UK over the last fifty years. This involved exploring what new data sources were available, together with historical data. The data I sought was identifying the people who had come to the UK, when they had arrived, why they left Chile and why they had chosen to come to the UK. By mapping out these details, I put together a comprehensive overview of the people that have made up the diaspora over the years from the 1970s up to the present. In the course of carrying out many face-to-face interviews, the details of who these people are and their different experiences of this process came to the fore, giving voice to the multi-faceted layers within the bare facts of who, what, where and why. Whilst my starting point was the diaspora itself, I also made sure that I included people who were not part of organisations. This was important to ensure that those experiences were also captured within the research sample.

2. *How has the process of leaving Chile and the history of political contestation framed the experience of being in diaspora?*

This question sought to explore the meaning people attach to leaving Chile and the impact this has had on their evolving lives as diaspora members. It explored the differences between those who were forced to leave and those who left voluntarily, looking at the continuing impact this experience may have had on their lives. It unpacked the divisions within the diaspora and made visible different perspectives of what the politics of leaving one's homeland means to people. It also served to critically analyse the notion discussed in Chapter Two of a collective group which acts together for common goals. The analysis of relationships within the diaspora, whether on a personal or associational level, demonstrated the immense diversity of the group, and also areas of collaboration or division. The importance of a historical perspective to this question lies in charting the changes in perspectives and actions following the narratives around politics that still exist even as time and situations have moved on.

3. *What activities and practices has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged in and how have these been framed, particularly in relation to concepts of development and politics?*

Recent literature and policy interventions have had a tendency to link diasporas to development rather uncritically. However, as Chapter Two argued, development itself is subject to a multitude of interpretations and definitions. This research question foregrounded the meaning of development for the diaspora itself as contrasted with official Chilean positions on development or the notion of development put forward in the development-diaspora discourse. This question traced the different types of activities that the diaspora has engaged in from the 1970s to the present and the ways these have been perceived and portrayed. It considered the different political and social contexts through which development activities have been initiated, how the diaspora frames their activities and the motivating factors driving them. It also enabled analysis of how and in what ways development activities may have changed over time and to what extent such activities continue to be a priority. Thus, it facilitated comparison with the

development activities of other diasporas. By focusing on people's everyday lives and the areas of importance for them, this question also prioritised people's individual constructions of development and how this plays out through their activities.

4.2 Epistemological Approach

The literature reviews in Chapters Two and Three have outlined gaps in existing knowledge which the questions above sought to answer. The development of a research plan to answer those questions appropriately confronted questions of different views of knowledge. This research acknowledges that knowledge is subjective and created through people's interactions with each other and the world. There are multiple interpretations of reality as opposed to one truth (Stainton-Rogers, 2006), indeed 'external reality is itself diverse and multifaceted' (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 19). The knowledge created through this project was shaped by the choices made in the selection of questions asked and methods used. The researcher effect is an important consideration and part of the data collection and analysis process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Taylor, 2002). Recognising my own positionality in this, I have reflected on the ways my identity may have shaped the interactions I had with people in the course of this project (England, 1994). My own history as a child of migrants has no doubt influenced my own positionality and some of the questions I have had about this research. Openly acknowledging this has been an important part of the process and not hidden behind 'objective' science. Therefore, the researcher has been made an open part of the study to directly address these challenges and to maintain a reflexive stance throughout.

4.2.1 Qualitative Research

This research focuses on people's understanding and interpretation of the context in which they live and participate as potential members of a diaspora. The research questions necessitated an approach that allowed sustained engagement and observation over a period of time. This affected the way in which data was generated

through appropriate methods. The ability of a qualitative research approach to focus on 'naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings' was seen as a major strength for this particular project (Miles et al., 2014, p. 11). Another feature of this approach is its '*richness and holism* with strong potential for revealing complexity' (Miles et al., 2014, p. 11, italics in original). Following Yin's definition, a qualitative approach does five key things, 1) it allows the researcher to study the meanings of people's lives, under the real-world conditions in which they live, 2) it represents people's views, 3) it examines the context in which participants live, 4) it may help to explain social behaviour by adding to concepts, 5) it endeavours to use 'multiple sources of evidence' instead of a single source (Yin, 2009). In tackling how best to uncover the rich data I sought through the research questions, I explored different methods of qualitative research before settling on the combination of methods I utilised in the fieldwork process.

However, the points about the immense benefits of qualitative research can be problematic in nature. Snape and Spencer (2003) note the difficulties with accessibility of the social world that is interpreted through respondents' views and then further interpreted by the researcher. Researchers are likely to have an effect on the people they study, though this can be minimised or exploited, which can itself be informative (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I found that it was sometimes helpful to share with people that I could relate in certain ways to their experiences of migrating. It demonstrated an empathy that seemed to be reassuring when they were sharing particularly sensitive and personal information. One of my participants spoke about his childhood in England with a Chilean set of cultural norms and expectations at 'home'. He spoke about his struggles to hide this at school and to appear as British as the others. I related my own experiences of similar situations from my own childhood and we were able to find much common ground amidst both amusing and difficult memories. It was, however, a fine line between being able to indicate understanding and also retaining objectivity and an overall dispassionate outlook. An awareness of this dilemma went some way to alleviating the difficulties associated with it though it remained a constant tension throughout the fieldwork.

In this study of multiple realities within the Chilean diaspora, qualitative research provides the means to give depth of meaning and understanding to participants' motivations. It provides in anthropological terms, what Geertz called 'thick description' which is essential for understanding the complex dynamics of diaspora interaction (Geertz, 2000, p. 6). In attempting to understand the experiences of exile and other types of migration in ways that give expression to people's feelings, emotions and perceptions, a qualitative approach was the best way to enable and implement this most effectively. This research was therefore based on such an approach as it facilitated the in-depth study and enabling conditions that were needed to draw out the type of data required to answer the research questions.

4.2.2 A Multi-Sited Methodology

The research questions and epistemological considerations outlined above led to the conclusion that it was necessary to carry out a multi-sited approach to best facilitate this study. This approach focused on various areas within and around London and further afield and parts of Chile (following links found in the UK fieldwork) as the two sites of engagement to trace a wide range of diaspora connections: physical, familial, emotional and professional amongst others. Work on diasporas and transnationalism has increasingly used multi-sited ethnographies and approaches to draw together both ends of the migration journey. Ingold expresses his exasperation at the overuse of the term ethnography so that it has become almost meaningless. It has been used to describe all sorts of practices, methods and techniques that he argues does the discipline of anthropology a great disservice (Ingold, 2014). The pure form of what ethnography is portrayed as being is beautifully told in Hannerz' (2003) very evocative description of Evans-Pritchard's Oxford man in 1950 and his lengthy anthropological study. This highlights the methodological and practical difficulties that classic anthropology faces in its commitment to long periods of time immersed in the site of interest. Marcus argues that the multi-sited ethnography 'arises in response to empirical changes in the world and therefore to transformed locations of cultural production' and shows that tracing 'cultural process itself impels the move toward multi-sited ethnography' (Marcus, 1995,

p. 97). Yet, the Evans-Pritchard purist model of ethnography has been quietly deviated from and adapted in practice by many scholars for some time (Hannerz, 2003, p. 201).

The interdisciplinary nature of diaspora and migration studies has given rise to many multi-sited studies. As Marcus explains, 'Strategies of quite literally following connections, associations, and putative relationships are thus at the very heart of designing multi-sited ethnographic research' (Marcus, 1995, p. 97). The sending and receiving contexts of transnationalism fundamental to this method are both the foundation of the study and also the approach used. Whether two-sited, three-sited or many more, how novel or valuable is the notion of a multi-sited approach? Hage proposes that it is less helpful than the idea of a 'single geographically discontinuous site', arguing that people were carrying out types of multi-sited ethnographies long before they were called as such (Hage, 2005, p. 463). Rouse's work on Mexican migrants in the US provides us with one such example (Rouse, 1991). Hage's perspective stems in part from his own fieldwork experience and realisation that thick immersion in too many sites is problematic, concluding that it was more realistic to define what he studied as one site, the site of the transnational family (Hage, 2005, p. 466). It is therefore the relationship between the people that is important rather than the sites themselves.

However defined, the use of what I will continue to call a multi-sited approach was essential to this research. Following links and connections as they emerged gave an organic quality, providing a form of connection between the sites of study. Nonetheless, disconnections and dead ends were also apparent between the sites and spaces of engagement. My approach here drew upon ethnographic methods rather than claiming to be an ethnography in its true sense. In using an ethnographic sensibility for the approach, this shaped the research with continual focus on abundance of detail and depth of the data collected. The challenges of such an approach were several, requiring travel, funds and linguistic ability, not to mention the hours of recorded interviews that had to be painstakingly transcribed. Marcus points out that the multi-linguistic requirements of multi-sited approaches conform to '(and often exceeds) the most

exacting and substantive demands of traditional fieldwork' (Marcus, 1996, p. 101). My perspective on the issue of a multi-sited approach which emerged from this work is that rather than think of it as one site, the Chilean case is better described as one site with multiple sites within, which are sometimes geographically based in the UK and Chile, but also sometimes transcend the bounds of geography and operate on a different virtual level altogether. These multiple sites are sometimes temporary spaces created by an occasion, or more frequent and permanent spaces but collectively, they make up the space of diaspora that spans countries, continents and time.

4.3 Research Methods

4.3.1 Observation

It was clear that some form of observation would be a key method for examining how organisations functioned and the best approach to gain a picture of the many groups and organisations in operation. As participant observation is understood as the researcher becoming embedded within the 'constituent study population or its organisational or community setting to record actions, interactions or events that occur', (Ritchie, 2003, p. 35) I was conscious that that my participation would be limited by time constraints. The differences between, and limitations of, 'complete participant' and 'complete observer' as discussed by Hammersley and Atkinson led me to conclude that being 'somewhere between these two poles' (1995, p. 107) was most realistic. I did not join any organisations in the course of the research although I did attend some of their administrative meetings when invited to. The meetings and events I attended as a participant were either by invitation as a guest or at some public events. Where I was invited to such events, the person who had invited me knew who I was and would generally inform other people of this and what I was doing, though at certain large-scale events, this was not always the case. In situations where people were unaware of my role, I was always clear about who I was and why I was there when I engaged other attendees in conversation. Though this did not allow for anonymity on my part and was potentially a 'source of bias' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 140) in the sense that

people may have behaved differently towards me, it was important to be transparent about my purpose there. I found that the combination of participating and observing allowed me to experience the events in a way that enabled my understanding while maintaining the perspective of a researcher. The ability to retain an impartial stance and not show favouritism to one sector of the diaspora was a key factor in enabling participants from different quarters to trust me and be open and honest. Dedicating a disproportionate amount of time to several organisations only may have prejudiced certain members against the research. As one of the stated aims of the research was to draw up a comprehensive overview and empirical picture of the diaspora, it was necessary to look at all aspects and not exclude any areas. Therefore, attending and observing a wide variety of events and meetings across as many organisations as possible enabled the diversity of the diaspora and all its various activities to be captured.

4.3.2 In-Depth Semi-Structured Interviews

Where the approach of observing different events and activities in all parts of the diaspora gave breadth to the portrayal of the Chileans, the decision to engage in in-depth semi-structured interviews added depth and richness. Interviews also effectively dealt with my aim of looking from the perspective of individual experiences of diaspora life and how organisations fitted into people's personal experience.

Rather than use questionnaires or tightly structured interviews, I decided that the semi-structured interview with a set of themes to guide would be the best approach to gain the type of desired data, as I was not attempting to gather data of statistical significance. It also gave space for the respondents to speak and bring up issues and frame things in ways that reflect their own perspectives rather than mine. This was particularly important given the emphasis here on how diasporans see ideas and processes such as diaspora and development in their own terms. These interviews were time-consuming to carry out and analyse, however on balance, the type of vivid and detailed data I was hoping to find, was best drawn out by this method. It allowed

people to open up and talk about their concerns relating to diaspora and development in their own words and through their own experiences.

4.3.3 Purposive Sampling Strategy

The time period in question for this study spanned fifty years from the 1970s to the present, providing an extended period of analysis for assessing change over time. This starting point was chosen as it corresponds with the election of President Salvador Allende on the 4th September 1970, the beginning of great political optimism and participation for many and also significant turbulence and upheaval. The need to capture different sending and receiving contexts at different times during this extensive period meant dividing this period into smaller sections. Given the importance of capturing the views of a broad range of diaspora members of different generations and their differing migration experiences, I developed a sampling strategy with a focus on people migrating in different decades within the fifty year period. This was designed to match key and distinct periods of migration which corresponded to the changing nature of both Chile and the UK in relation to the diaspora.

Historical Cohorts by Decade:

1970s: Salvador Allende was elected President of Chile in 1970 and thereafter a period of migration began with some right-wing elites leaving the country unhappy with the changes Allende was making. After the coup and the murder of Allende, the Pinochet regime's policy of repression and exile resulted in huge numbers fleeing the country, at least 200,000 people being forced into exile. Over 2,000 Chileans settled in Britain in the mid 1970s (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007).

1980s: In the context of the ongoing dictatorship in Chile, people continued to leave under Pinochet's strategy for eliminating his opponents. This was also a time of increasing resistance in Chile and around the world as exiles kept the opposition alive and contributed to the hope that things could change. The Chilean authorities began to

allow small numbers of exiles to return from 1983 onwards following increasing protests and pressure from a coalition of actors (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011; Bolzman 2002).

1990s: The advent of democracy in 1990 brought in a new era in which many exiles returned to Chile, causing a significant decrease in numbers of UK-based Chileans with a resulting impact on their organisations and their activities. Individuals continued to arrive in the UK but in smaller numbers and for different reasons including relationships and job opportunities, marking a shift in the overall composition of the diaspora.

2000s: This period has embraced another type of Chilean arriving in the UK in significant numbers, the postgraduate student. Whilst Chilean students had studied in the UK before this, the introduction of new government grants to fund postgraduate study overseas at this time meant that numbers increased sharply. The influx of students has changed the dynamics within the diaspora, mixing younger generations with the longer-term exiles. A host of new student-led and other types of organisations have sprung up and changed the landscape of diaspora life.

As this research was firmly focused on a temporal framework, it was necessary to select participants who joined the diaspora in the different time periods laid out above. People who left Chile during different decades were approached and additional variables were used to determine the criteria for selecting participants. The key priorities for selection of cohort members therefore were the decade in which they left, and where applicable, their reasons for leaving to provide a range of political, class and social positions. To ensure a balanced approach, age and socio-economic status were also taken into account so that no one group was over or under represented.

Purposive sampling techniques were used to ensure a suitable mix of participants with as much diversity as possible who could provide a range of perspectives on the research questions. These techniques ensured that a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds and political affiliations were included. Care was taken to include roughly equal numbers

of people from different genders from each time period. This was done on the basis that evidence shows that the experiences of men and women in the diaspora are different (Kay, 1987, 1988) and therefore it was important to bring this out in the research. In this approach, selection of participants was criterion based, chosen because of specific features or characteristics which 'will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study' (Ritchie et al., 2003, p. 78).

The question of race in Chile is a thorny topic in a country with a mixed population of white, indigenous and people of African origin. Political and social elites in Chile 'define themselves as (white) Chilean in implicit contrast to racialized indigenous subjects' (Radcliffe and Webb, 2015, p. 250; Richards, 2013). Race is therefore a marker of class in Chile, with whiteness associated with higher social status and those descended from Spanish settlers disproportionately represented in the media and positions of power. Chile continues to be a country of 'entrenched racism' (Richards, 2013, p. 1) where Chileans of indigenous ancestry are often discriminated against. Additionally, despite the presence of people of African descent, the possibility of being a black Chilean is repeatedly denied (Wolf, 2019). There was a notable absence of discussion around these issues amongst the participants in this study. Whilst I sought to incorporate a wide range of views from different types of Chileans, only a couple of people framed themselves as partly indigenous and no one articulated a strong attachment to an indigenous or black Chilean identity. Race was therefore a continuous presence-absence throughout the research, which manifested itself through its relation to class position, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The problem with talking of a diaspora as an 'entity' is that it assumes membership (Brubaker, 2005). Accessing Chileans who were not part of diaspora organisations was necessary in providing an alternative perspective to organisation members. This is important to my research question as it gives a broad spectrum of types of people who engage to varying degrees with diaspora activities. It is essential to assess the views of those who are not part of diaspora organisations in order to understand the dynamics of

collective identity. My initial contacts from pre-existing engagement with Chile provided a balance of different temporalities and political backgrounds. Crucially, they also had different kinds of links within the Chilean diaspora, some of which were on an informal basis which did not involve organisations. This enabled access to the people outside the most visible parts of the diaspora. Initial links provided by my key contacts were harnessed to provide further participants through snowballing techniques. I ensured this did not lead to being 'channelled' towards very specific types of participant similar to my initial contacts by getting a range of contacts from further people I met during this process. Through each stage, I carefully analysed each potential interviewee as best as possible prior to interview, ensuring a balanced spread of people. With these variables in mind, it was initially planned that approximately 45 participants would be selected to gain a significant range of different perspectives. In the end, I interviewed 60 people.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

This research tackled some sensitive questions and debates amongst Chilean migrants. As studies of diaspora frequently do, it dealt with conflicts between different groups and the issue of those who had left the diaspora physically by returning to Chile, though not necessarily in the sense of disassociating from it. With certain groups and people in conflict, I had to manage multiple types of relationships and the manner in which I did so had implications for the data I was able to gather. I was able to connect with those on all sides of the political spectrum, those who were still actively involved in diaspora activities and those who no longer engaged with them, people who had returned to Chile, and some who had then returned back to England. Being able to work simultaneously with these very different groups of people required tailoring my approach accordingly and a great deal of sensitivity. I did this by familiarising myself with the background and objectives of different groups to understand areas of concern and interest. I listened carefully to what I was told and ensured that my approach, whilst always honest that I was talking to many different types of people within the diaspora and not in favour of any particular group, was fair and allowed different views the space to be heard.

Data gathered from this research was frequently sensitive as some participants found certain subjects and time periods connected to the dictatorship difficult or upsetting. By virtue of doing the interview, participants may have found themselves talking about things they found distressing. Although the interviews were semi-structured in nature, participants were given the space to bring up their own concerns and frame these from their own perspectives. Where they desired to talk about personal or painful subjects they were free to, however this was not pushed on them. I was conscious however that even seemingly simple questions about why people left Chile could raise subjects that people found troubling. I dealt with the situation by listening attentively and empathetically, identifying when these issues arose and allowing people the space to speak as much or as little as they wished. I was careful not to probe or question further if there was any suggestion that the subject matter was problematic for the participant. Information sheets and consent forms were used and respondents were able to withdraw any data from this study if they wished to do so. Anonymity was offered to all participants and ensured by issuing of codenames which were applied from the start of the transcription process. The key to the codenames was saved in a separate, secure and password protected area. Approval for this research project was given by the Ethics Committee of the Open University (HREC/2014/1667/Radley/1).

4.5 Programme of Research

In designing the fieldwork, the programme of research was divided into four distinct phases. The primary reason behind this is that I am a part-time student, and it was necessary to break the work down into stages that were manageable from a practical point of view. As well as being part-time, I had personal responsibilities and several house moves within and between different countries to contend with. I was consequently unable to move seamlessly between Chile and London during the fieldwork period but taking on board the challenges and limitations this presented, structuring my fieldwork in this phased approach enabled me to plan effectively and do what I needed to. In fact, I found that having distinct phases with gaps in between turned out to be a positive as it allowed me time to reflect deeply on each phase and the

data gathered, and be responsive to reshaping my plans as necessary. Therefore, each phase was structured to provide a clear focus on specific activities with each phase building on the previous one.

1) The Exploratory Phase took place between July and September 2014 to carry out initial data collection from established contacts and to further identify and contact UK-based organisations. This period also included testing of research questions on different categories of diaspora member before embarking on the main phases of activity. It also gathered information on key community events that would form part of the research process.

2) Phase One began in September 2014 for four weeks to coincide with national Chilean celebrations on the 18th. It also covered September 11th, the anniversary of the coup d'état. These dates are the most important in the diaspora calendar and provide a focal point for various activities by different organisations generally held over several weeks in this period. Ethnographic engagement began with both ordinary organisation meetings and specific meetings to organise the celebration events, to start the process of gaining trust and access to the celebrations. This phase actively used snowballing techniques to gather further research participants from initial contacts.

3) Phase Two took place between November 2014 and January 2015. It began with two weeks on the ground in November, supplementary work in the intervening period and a further two weeks on the ground in January. It continued the process of data collection by following up contacts made in Phase One. The data analysis part of this Phase identified and made contact with participants for Phase Three.

4) Phase Three took place in Chile for eight weeks starting in April 2016 and followed the transnational links of diaspora members back to Chile to complete the data collection.

4.5.1 Locations and Sites of Fieldwork: The UK and Chile

Delimiting the geographical scope of the fieldwork proved to be a challenge in the early stages of designing the methodology. I was aware that Chilean exiles in the 1970s had settled in various locations around the UK including Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield, Bristol and Cambridge amongst others. I also knew that large numbers of them had returned to Chile and some had passed away. As I carried out the scoping stages of identifying past and present organisations and sites where Chileans gathered, it became clear that I had to set some logistically practical limits on where I would carry out the fieldwork. The contacts I gathered which began from my own personal ones in the London area took me around London and slightly further afield to Maidenhead, Cambridge, Oxford and the St Albans area. I decided to focus mainly on these areas for ease of travel and to carry out some supplementary interviews via Skype to include people located elsewhere. To this end, I have chosen to refer to the Chilean diaspora in the UK as my sample was located in these different sites and not only in the London area. For the Chilean part of the fieldwork, following the leads generated through the UK interviews meant that these were scattered all over the place. Luckily from a logistical perspective, the contacts were concentrated in the Santiago area, the regions to the North of Santiago including Valparaíso and La Calera (roughly 1.5-2 hours away by bus) and several in the Temuco and Pucón areas to the South (a short flight away). I planned my time in Chile the time to enable travel to all of these locations in order to conduct face-to-face interviews.

4.5.2 Phase One: The Exploratory Phase, July-September 2014

The main focus of this Phase was to carry out a preliminary study of UK-based Chileans and their organisations, discover their locations and make contact with them. Initially, leads were provided by a small number of existing contacts, individuals who had quite different backgrounds and therefore also connections to different types of Chileans within the diaspora. These leads were used as a foundation to gather more information and other leads.

This Phase targeted the first research question in the need to scope out the existence and make-up of the diaspora. It looked at the numbers, formation, types of people and the basic task of identifying who the Chileans in the UK were at this time and in the past. This phase therefore sought to collect data on Chileans and organisations that were no longer present in the UK or active but had been during the fifty year period in question.

Various sources of information were used to collect information on the Chilean diaspora:

- Chilean Consulate
- Internet research – using search terms including Chile organisation UK or London, Chilean organisation UK and following links from known organisation websites
- Pan - Latin American organisations
- Snowballing
- Charity Commission – to identify organisations that might have registered as UK charities

Historical and Present Organisations

A list of all Chilean organisations identified was drawn up, comprising all those which had operated in the past and the present. These were categorised according to type of organisation with contact details and any information that had already been obtained. I cross-referenced the list I developed with lists I was given by different people and organisations. Often there would be confusion over which groups did what or who belonged to which group. Occasionally groups would be called by slightly different names but by asking more questions, I could establish that in fact, they were the same entity. Sometimes, certain groups would be left out altogether, for instance Comunidad Chile had omitted the long-standing Anglo-Chilean Society from the list on their website. By tackling this part of the research using a multi-level approach, I was able to establish

a comprehensive list of Chilean organisations. From the official end, I was given data by the Chilean Consulate. From the middle, I was given information by various representatives of organisations, and from ground level, I used informal information given by contacts, to pursue further leads and identify other organisations. These were often the more informal or loosely constituted collectives. As the research progressed, I continually added to this list if I came across any new organisations.

The Contact Process

Initial approaches to all the organisations were made by writing to them either by email or by letter. In several cases, the mention of a point of contact who had provided the information about the organisation was a useful means of introducing myself. I explained my background and long-held interest in Chile and my reasons for contacting them. Most organisations wrote back to me in the first instance and were happy to arrange an initial meeting. I did not get a response from a few organisations, in some cases the contact details proved to be out of date and it was difficult to find current information. Several organisations no longer existed, though through some of the individual interviews, I was able to get information on these through people's individual experiences of them. In a couple of cases, there was no response even with several attempts at getting in touch and contact details checked, for instance with the Instituto O'Higiniano. I also made approaches to individuals whose details I had been given through my initial contacts. This way, I was able to find diaspora members who were active members of different organisations and also those who were not members, allowing for a diversity of opinions.

The overall aim was not to provide a comprehensive review of the organisations themselves and their histories, but rather to gather perspectives on the role that the organisations play in people's lives at different times. The interviews that I conducted with people who were representatives or members of particular organisations were not intended to be official representations of those organisations, but rather to understand their relationship to the organisation as well as to others in the diaspora world.

The other key aim in carrying out a mapping of the Chilean diaspora organisations in the UK, was to identify people with links to organisations and institutions in Chile. These links were then classified into certain categories which contributed to a deeper understanding of the diaspora's views and work on development and political issues. Most organisations in the UK and Chile were happy to participate and helpful. As the accounts of the organisations come from individual perspectives rather than strictly official sources, recollections of dates and timings of events were often inconsistent. Even when a person was being interviewed in their official capacity, dates could be a source of confusion. People were frequently vague about when things had happened, and in many cases, these organisations being organic and not officially constituted, there were no records to refer to.

Initial interviews

Interview participants were given the opportunity to select a meeting place that was convenient for them. This was typically done in a public place of their choice, though occasionally interviews took place at people's homes. An information sheet on the research and consent form was provided at the start in both English and Spanish. Interviewees were asked for permission to record the interview. The interview was conducted in whichever language participants felt most comfortable using.

The exploratory phase included a small number of initial face-to-face interviews. These interviews were with already existing contacts as mentioned previously and were used to test the interview questions that had been developed. Questions were designed very openly specifically to give power to the interviewee to interpret them as they saw fit. More direct or prescriptive questions may have inhibited the person's perspective coming through and I was keen to observe their instinctive reactions to certain issues and themes. Where people asked for clarification, it was given.

Initially, as one of the key areas of interest was people's own views and interpretations of development, I was careful to avoid leading them into a discussion on development as the default framework. Questions around their activities and practices were asked in a general and open way to allow for their own views to emerge. Later in the conversation, if the subject of development had not naturally emerged through discussion on the issues facing Chile both in the past and the present, I would introduce it as a concept. Some interviewees would naturally use development as a means of discussing organisational activities and issues. Others would use frameworks of solidarity or justice, often related to the timeframe of their migration and their age. These initial interviews allowed the questions to be refined in preparation for the main bulk of the interviews planned for subsequent phases.

4.5.3 Phase Two: September and October 2014

The start of Phase Two was timed to coincide with the celebrations of Chilean independence that take place annually around September 18th. The aims of this Phase were to carry out a number of face-to-face interviews and to observe a wide variety of events and meetings of different groups and organisations. This time of year sees a large surge in activity for many organisations, and as such, was an ideal time to observe the diaspora in action.

This Phase was critical in consolidating the initial list of organisations and contacts developed in the Exploratory Phase. During this time also, the purposive sampling technique was further developed and refined. This period was fundamental in establishing myself as a known researcher within the diaspora and therefore gaining more leads and contacts to pursue for future interviews. Several organisations agreed to publicise the research and encourage their members to take part. Through this means, several individuals contacted me to participate.

I attended and observed a number of different meetings and events which were both preparing for and celebrating the annual celebrations. Care was taken to ensure that

events attended gave an appreciation of the breadth of those held and the different categories of Chilean involved. Examples of these are as follows:

1) Grupo del Sur rehearsals.

Several dance rehearsals of the folklore group, Grupo del Sur, in preparation for performing at the celebrations. Led by a professional dancer, this small group comprises people of different ages who dance together and perform at various functions. These informal sessions were an opportunity to get to know various members of the diaspora with a cultural focus. From this, various contacts and interviews emerged.

2) Joint event of Mujeres y Mamas en el UK and Chilenos en Cambridge.

This informal lunch-time 'pot-luck' event was an interesting mix of two quite different groups, the former being an internet based group of Chilean mothers and women, the latter being a mixture of students and exiles. Attendees were mainly women and their families who mostly knew each other already, a number of longer-established exiles and some students.

3) Casa Chilena event.

This long-established evening event catered mainly to the exile groups, many of whom are now elderly. Some came with their families. The Ambassador and Consul attended this event.

4) Carretón Diechiochero event, by Chilenos en el UK².

This was the liveliest of all the events, with a party atmosphere. Catering to families earlier on (from 4pm), later on it became more of a club night. This had a large proportion of students and individuals who had come to the UK for work or personal reasons.

5) Comunidad Chile event.

This was a brand-new event in 2014 held in a North London pub by a new organisation seeking to bring together different types of Chileans. This initiative was run by a young team of Chileans married to British people (now folded). It was well attended and

² This has recently changed name to Chilenos en Inglaterra UK. I refer to it by the original name at the time of research as this is how participants knew it.

achieved its key aim of having attendees from all groups and different generations. The Consul also attended this event.

6) El Sueño Existe event.

This is a left-wing loose collective of older people which organises a biannual festival in Wales, led by an Englishman but closely supported by many Chileans. The focus is on the life and music of Victor Jara and ideas of left-wing politics and solidarity. This event consisted of various musicians performing and some speeches.

I also conducted more individual interviews and interviewed the Chilean Consul. The Consul sent out two emails to his database asking people to assist with my research which proved helpful, and he invited me to several diaspora events at the Embassy and Consulate.

4.5.4 Phase Three: November 2014 to January 2015

This Phase was the final one to take place in the UK. It was critical to ensure that all the necessary interviews had taken place by the end of this phase. This was also the time to consolidate contacts in Chile for the next phase of research. During this period, 26 face to face interviews with diaspora members were carried out and another meeting with the Consul was held. Unfortunately, the person I had lined up to interview for the 1980-1989 period pulled out and I was unable to find a replacement. This meant that I ended up with one person less than originally planned for this cohort. I attended various music and cultural events during this phase, several of which were held at the Consulate. Others took place at Praxis in North London and other venues around London and further afield. It had become evident that there is no single geographical focus for the Chilean diaspora in London. Physically, people are dispersed all over the place and their events and meetings likewise. One of these events was a folk dance lesson organised by Vidance, a relatively new folklore group, which went on to become a lively party. I also went to some very well attended academic seminars organised by ChileGlobal held at the Institute of Education.

As this was the final phase of fieldwork in the UK, I made a concerted effort to make contact with the organisations I had not yet managed to. I never got a response from the Instituto O'Higiniano (a organisation focused on promoting the life and work of Bernardo O'Higgins, the first head of an independent Chilean republic) despite several attempts to make contact, and was unsuccessful in gaining a response from Quimantu (a band) and Movimiento Cultural Amigo Artista (a musician). I had an initial meeting with a representative from one organisation which seemed positive. However, she later contacted me and explained that she did not want to take part in the study for personal reasons. I did manage to interview some people who were members of this organisation however what they told me about them was very much from a personal perspective. Another organisation did not want to give an official interview, but they circulated details of the project amongst their membership and invited them to contact me if they wished to take part. In the course of the individual interviews, I spoke to a number of people who had active contact with the above organisations to varying degrees. One of the individuals had been a very active member of one for many years, including holding a role on the committee therefore I was able to get a great deal of information from him. This person and a few others were also active in the Instituto O'Higiniano so I was able to obtain some information about this organisation. Gaining insight this way aligned well with my aim to understand the role of organisations in individual lives rather than the organisations themselves.

Overall, I was able to make contact with and interview people individually that corresponded to the cohorts of interest. Through this process, I talked to members of the vast majority of the Chilean organisations still in existence in the London area. There was a lot of crossover with many people active in several organisations. A number of organisations no longer existed, either because they were related directly to the dictatorship years or had lost funding, whilst others had evolved into different forms. With many exiles still around and willing to be interviewed, I was able to gain a picture of role that these historical organisations played in their lives.

4.5.5 Phase Four: March and April 2016

This Phase took place in Chile over two months. As time was limited, I prepared carefully in advance, writing to all the contacts I had made and been given well in advance of my arrival. Most replied and indicated that they would be happy to meet. I then wrote again on arriving in country to finalise dates and times of interviews. I was able to begin these within a couple of days of arrival therefore maximising my time in Chile. Due to familiarity with the country and fluency in Spanish, I was able to hit the ground running and begin work immediately. I had organised accommodation before arrival and had suitable space to work and easy access to telephone and internet which greatly facilitated the set-up of interviews.

This Phase consisted of two main aims: 1) following links obtained from previous phases in the UK, and 2) obtaining additional contacts or sources obtained from interviews conducted in Chile. The majority of the interviews took place in the Santiago area, with a small number in Valparaíso, La Calera and Los Andes. I also travelled to Temuco and Villarica to carry out further interviews. I was able to meet with all the people I had planned to, as well as several others. I followed up the links given from the UK-based diaspora organisations to their counterparts or contacts in Chile. I also followed up personal links to understand different aspects of the Chilean diaspora experience. This entailed ensuring that interviews included returned exiles, returned students and other types of returnees.

In total, I carried out 26 semi-structured interviews as well as two ancillary interviews, the latter with relatives of exiled diaspora members who offered to give their perspective. They had worked with organisations in Chile set up to assist victims of the dictatorship, as well as having exiled family members. These were useful in providing background and additional richness to the nuanced picture of exile I aimed to gain. Three of the interviews held were with representatives of government departments which work directly with the UK-based diaspora and four interviews were with representatives of organisations with links to the UK-based diaspora. People were very

willing to assist with my research and were generous with their time and assistance. The additional interviews I carried out were more than merely background. They gave critical context and added depth to the meaning of diasporic activity. They allowed me to understand why activities are done as they are, described as they are and given the importance they are. They also added context to the deep complexities and frequent tensions I encountered in diaspora. Being a British researcher seemed to help my case and credibility due to the high regard that many Chileans have for the British. In fact, I was invited by one of the participants to give a talk at the college he lectured at about my research. The students were studying research methodologies and I was asked to give particular emphasis to this aspect of the study. It was a rewarding experience both professionally and personally. Students and staff alike were fascinated that I was researching Chile and many selfies were taken with me before I was allowed to leave. Exploring the links I found and followed along the way organically rather than having everything planned out allowed me to be reactive to things I discovered in the course of the fieldwork which enhanced the data I collected.

4.6 Fieldwork Results

By the time I completed fieldwork in the UK in 2015, I had virtually completed the original aim of interviewing 5 people from each decade. The results by then were as follows:

1970-1979	6 people
1980-1989	4 people
1990-1999	7 people
2000-2009	6 people
2010 onwards	8 people
Background	1 person

Total of 32 interviews held (15 men, 17 women) with UK-based Chileans including an interview with the Chilean Consul.

In 2016 in Chile, following links gathered from the UK interviews and gaining additional contacts from interviews in Chile itself, I carried out a set of interviews with returnees or former members of the UK Chilean diaspora as follows:

1970-1979	8 people
1980-1989	1 person
1990-1999	0
2000-2009	4 people
2010 onwards	5 people
Background interviews	10

Total of 28 interviews held (14 men, 14 women) in Chile

In total, I carried out 60 interviews, 49 with individual diaspora members (some of whom represented UK-based organisations) including returnees, 8 interviews with government officials or other organisations in Chile and 3 background interviews with people who were not in the diaspora but were connected to it.

4.7 Difficulties and Challenges of the Fieldwork

Getting hold of official numbers on the Chilean diaspora proved to be difficult. As has been well-documented by McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) and McIlwaine et al. (2011) the lack of substantive data on Latin Americans in the UK is an issue for all from the region, Chileans included. Whilst the data available has been expanded by their work, the type of data I was looking for was still not readily available. Where I was given figures by certain government officials, I was asked not to use them as official data as they were merely working figures they themselves had gathered.

The issue of where to conduct interviews was a perpetual source of concern. Many public places like cafes, whilst good at providing a neutral and safe space to meet someone unknown for the first time, were often noisy, causing poor sound quality for the recordings. Though this made transcription more difficult in some cases, luckily it never

obscured the conversations. Invitations to people's homes were a more comfortable way for participants to engage in an interview situation but meant that personal safety had to be considered. I dealt with this by providing a list of interviews with times and dates to a nominated person who could monitor my safe return. A beneficial consequence of meeting people in their own homes was that they felt able to talk at more length than in a public place. This produced much longer and more detailed interviews, in some cases several hours long. I let the interviews be guided by the participants and if they wished to talk at length, I did not seek to curtail them. This created much more work at the transcription and analysis stage, but also provided a wealth of data that was very valuable.

Some people were initially suspicious of my motives in carrying out the research. I tried to alleviate these concerns by being honest about my long history of engagement with Chile through family friends, intellectually at university in the learning of Spanish and study of the region, and in the time spent there over the years working and studying. In all cases, this was sufficient to explain why I was dedicated to this research project and also where my interest in Chile came from. For myself, I was frequently surprised by an interview turning out to be different to my expectation. People were often difficult to categorise or would turn out to represent an altogether different organisation or cohort to the one I had thought. I carried out one interview with a woman who I had thought was someone who had moved to the UK for work opportunities. It turned out that she was actually a child of exiles who had grown up in Norway but moved to the UK to study. Similarly, I had gone to an interview in Santiago expecting to meet a representative of the Victor Jara Foundation to discuss their links with UK-based organisations. The person I was due to meet was ill so I ended up interviewing Victor Jara's daughter and gaining a quite different insight into the Foundation through her eyes, together with her experience as a child exiled in the UK.

Initially, I was concerned about the limited amount of time available for the fieldwork in both the UK and Chile. I dealt with this by designing my fieldwork in a way that would provide maximum efficiency whilst on the ground. I spent a long time in advance of my

fieldwork trips preparing and engaging in ongoing dialogues with potential interviewees. Many people were loath to commit to dates and times before I arrived in country, though helpful and keen to meet in principle. However, once I arrived, having made contact several times prior to this, generally it was easy to firm up plans. The effect of this preparation was to ensure that once in place, there was little time wasted and I was able to begin interviews and observation almost straightaway. Another helpful factor was my familiarity with both fieldwork locations and the English and Spanish languages. Organising the long-distance part of the fieldwork was more challenging but here again, a network of existing contacts and country knowledge allowed me to spend less time on adjusting and settling in, and more time actually developing contacts and doing the fieldwork itself. Time was used effectively and efficiently and in fact, any limitations I thought may be an issue, did not prove to be a problem.

At the very initial stages, I had not intended to include students as a target research group for this work. The idea had been to focus on members of the diaspora with indefinite leave to remain in the UK. However, as the planning went on and I began to have exploratory conversations around this issue, the sense began to crystallise that students were having an impact on the diaspora that meant they warranted a closer look. It soon became clear that including students within the study was essential for several reasons. Firstly, it was valid to include them in order to open up the question over who a diaspora can consist of and how it is generally perceived in the literature. Secondly, the inclusion of students was necessary to examine the new types of organisations that they had set up in recent years which were having an impact on the diaspora, particularly in their interactions with other long-standing organisations. Thirdly, their position as part of government policies on development, and their own interest and actions with regard to development issues, meant that they were a vital part of the areas being researched. Students therefore proved to be an integral component of this study.

4.7.1 Data Analysis

Having carried out more interviews than intended, I had to tackle the lengthy task of transcription before moving onto the analysis phase. Transcribing the interviews in full took many months of work. This phase itself can be viewed as an interpretive one where the act of transcribing consists of a reflective approach, considering the additional insights from fieldnotes and beginning to identify emerging themes (Maclean et al., 2004). Computer assisted software was considered but dismissed due to the complexities of language involved in most of the interviews with several participants speaking in a mixture of English and Spanish. After researching various options to assist and several false starts, I developed a simple technique that worked well for me in the long run, although Britten's estimate of six to seven hours of transcription for every hour of recording was rather optimistic for this novice transcriber and incompetent typist (Britten, 1995). Using Inqscribe as a straightforward tool, I imported each recording and transcribed straight into the software itself. Working on each transcript in turn, I saved each one in a variety of secure and password protected places with a code to denote who the interviewee was, to provide anonymity from this stage onwards. I chose Nvivo to assist with data analysis which I found to be effective and generally user friendly.

Generating the themes for coding with Nvivo was a process that emerged over time. There was a deductive element to this as I had gone into the fieldwork with particular academic and policy ideas and discourses in mind. This shaped the questions asked and the initial themes I sought to identify in the data. It was also part of my methodological approach which was reflected in the choice of semi-structured interviews, to give significant space to the ideas, perspectives and framings of my respondents. To this end, and in keeping with the ethnographic sensibility of my approach, once active coding was underway, I built on and extended beyond the deductive themes with inductive themes that emerged from the data, revealing the social realities of the people interviewed (Jennings, 2005, p. 29). One theme that emerged inductively which I had not expected at the start, was the importance that the

sharing of Chilean culture widely and outside Chilean circles held for quite a number of respondents. I had developed a sense of several thematic categories which had come through clearly in the interview process and made a record of these at that time. The act of transcription produced further additions and refinement of many themes. I was receptive to those themes which arose 'spontaneously' as used by the interviewees themselves (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 211) and incorporated them within my categories. Having produced a set of themes and sub themes, I coded the data using these categories in Nvivo. During the analysis processes, in addition to using this coded data, I found that it was helpful to go back to the original transcripts and reread these alongside the Nvivo data to set them within the context of the interview. Overall, a mixture of Nvivo, and the act of re-listening to transcripts and incorporating field notes and observations proved to be the best way of analysing the data to answer the research questions.

4.8 Conclusion

This Chapter has set out the design and methods of this research and the boundaries of the framework used to capture the type of data required to answer the research question of the extent to which the UK-based Chilean diaspora has engaged with 'home' over the last fifty years and whether their transnational practices can be seen as developmental. This research programme has shown that there is an 'unknown' Chilean diaspora that goes far beyond the small body of existing knowledge about the Chilean exiles in the UK. It has exposed their existence and the ways they interact through examining the role that organisations play in people's lives and the activities they carry out. In doing so, it responds to the need to critically assess the portrayal of diaspora as positive proponents of development at 'home' and to provide a counter narrative which explores the limitations of this framing in assessing issues including broader notions of development, the diversity of diasporas and the dynamism of diaspora-development linkages. The subsequent chapters will show how the empirical data gathered through this study reveal the way diaspora activities are framed in relation to development and

politics, the legacy of the past in the present, and how these transnational practices are seen in relation to development.

Chapter Five

Diversifying the Chilean Diaspora: Charting the Different Cohorts over Time

The lives of the Chilean diaspora, both past and present, have much to tell us about the experience of living as part of a diaspora. People's stories, in all their rich diversity, tell us what it is like to live in the heart of a diaspora, outside of the 'official' diaspora quantified and recognised by Chilean officials or on the very fringes of diaspora life. They also tell what it is to leave a diaspora behind physically (in other words, those who have returned to Chile) though perhaps not emotionally or mentally. They show how the experience of being in diaspora continues through time and space moving from past to present. We have seen in Chapters Two and Three that concepts of diaspora are fluid and discussed why this is the most appropriate way to refer to the groups of Chileans that have lived in the UK from the 1970s to the present. Diaspora is an amorphous group that consists of many individuals, some of whom have much shared experience that is the focus of their lives and others who live on the edges of that collective lifestyle.

The data here answers the first of the research sub-questions, 'To what degree has a Chilean diaspora emerged over time and who does it consist of?' It provides new empirical evidence on the Chileans who have come to the UK since the 1970s, adding to the body of work that already exists on UK-based Chilean exiles and develops an entirely novel area that has not been studied before, that of Chilean migrants post-1990. Therefore, to answer this research question, this chapter will examine who it is that comprises the diaspora by breaking it down into three sections that reflect the main periods of diaspora construction linked to the different migration flows identified. I argue that the Chilean diaspora must be understood in terms of its historical origins which shape the diaspora still and render it a place where political histories of Chile continually influence the politics of interactions in diaspora.

5.1 Contours of the Chilean Diaspora in the UK

To understand who the Chilean diaspora in the UK is today, we must first examine several distinct groups of people who have moved here over fifty years. It has proved difficult to get detailed and accurate data on the numbers of Chileans in the UK at different times. In 2014-2015, the Consulate estimated that there were approximately 7000 Chileans in the UK. This figure represents the Chileans registered with the Consulate who therefore have an 'official' presence in the UK. This has increased gradually year on year from a little over 4500 in 2002. The Office of National Statistics data gathered from the Census of 2011 recorded 7071 Chileans in Great Britain. It categorised people born in Chile by year of arrival which tells us that 2410 arrived between 1971 and 1990. After 1990 and up to 2011, less than 1000 arrived each year (Office for National Statistics, 2011). What this data does not tell us is how many people returned to Chile after 1990. The National Office of Return in Chile estimates that less than half of the exiles have returned and that 400,000 and 600,000 exiles remain abroad (Cornejo, 2008; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). It is also likely to miss those wary of being counted in official statistics for a variety of reasons including suspicion of authorities, ongoing fear or those in the UK outside of a recognised migration process.

It is important, as identified in Chapter Two, to recognise the diaspora's construction as an entity made up of heterogeneous members. As explained, research to date has focused almost exclusively on the exile group, leaving the other Chileans who have arrived in the UK since 1990 as an unknown and invisible population. It is essential therefore to breakdown who these groups of people are and the driving forces behind their moves to the UK. The methodology employed, discussed in Chapter Four, was deliberately geared towards uncovering and exploring the totality of the Chilean population and succeeded in providing a broad examination of the different groups of Chileans here. Building on this, I have categorised Chileans in the UK into three main groups. These are 1) the political exiles who moved in the 1970s and 1980s, 2) a loose cohort made up of people who travelled to the UK for opportunity, whether related to

personal relationships and marriage, employment or simply for new horizons, and 3) postgraduate students who have, in most cases, been the recipients of government grants. I have identified these three groups based on the data from interviews carried out amongst current and former members of the diaspora, in the UK and Chile. People may not necessarily categorise themselves as members of the three groups I have identified (although members of group 1, the exiles, mainly do) but it is a useful means to link similar contextual experiences and indeed analyse the 'layers' of the diaspora produced by the groups which are distinct but intersecting. Looking at each of these groups in turn, I will discuss the commonalities that link diasporans within each group and highlight some initial themes around the concerns and interests of these cohorts.

5.2 Chilean Political Exiles: The 1970s and 1980s

The group of Chilean migrants who are still known today as the 'exiliados' (exiles) came to the UK following the coup in September 1973, many fleeing for their lives amidst the chaos and fear created by the Pinochet regime. They came individually, sometimes with their families and sometimes without, through a variety of different mechanisms. Of the exiles interviewed for this study, before they left Chile, two had been university lecturers, three were teachers, five were students, four were the children of parents forced to flee and one was a political activist. The first exiles arrived soon after the coup, before many of the organisations which would later provide significant support to the community had been set up.

Many exiles who left Chile found a 'home' in the UK with the assistance of the Catholic Chilean organisation Vicaría de la Solidaridad, set up in 1976 in Chile to defend the human rights of Chilean citizens, as Adolfo explains:

When I was studying, these 3 guys, they came in and questioned me and all the mess started. I went through the Vicaría and things started to move. I was scared because of all the things that happened. Through the church in Santiago, the priest, he helped me and he said, 'you need to go through

this process'. I agreed because I wasn't happy in this way of life. Because mentally and psychologically, I tell you, it's still in there. It's hard, it's been hard.

Adolfo (Male, 55, exile, arrived in 1983, chef)³

The Vicaría played a pivotal role for many in providing a mechanism for safe passage out of Chile and to a new life overseas. They liaised closely with the WUS, an international organisation that placed refugees in foreign countries to study. The WUS was instrumental in assisting with the settlement of a number of Chileans in the UK through its programme for Chilean refugee scholars between 1973 and 1985. This particular programme of the WUS developed from an initiative by a group of British academics who became known as Academics for Chile, working on finding ways to enable students and academics fleeing repression under Pinochet to continue their studies and careers in the UK (World University Service, 1986).

For almost all the exiles, the WUS was vital in providing a structure and purpose to their lives. In giving them the opportunity to study, it not only provided them with recognised British qualifications but gave them the breathing space necessary to familiarise themselves with the English language before having to embark upon finding employment. It was, in this sense, a pivotal mechanism in the ability of the Chilean exiles to gain both the time and space to accustom themselves to their new 'home'. This also facilitated the ability of the exiles to actively participate in the emergent solidarity efforts. The WUS provided ongoing support over sustained periods of time for some interviewees. Whilst an exhaustive analysis of its role and activities is beyond the scope of this research, it is important to acknowledge the way in which it facilitated the arrival and support of exiles in the UK⁴ (Ramírez 2014; World University Service 1986). A prevailing sense of dislocation and uncertainty comes through strongly in all accounts of the early days and for many, the WUS was one of few pillars of support, as attested by Marcelo and Noelia:

³ Ages of interviewees are at date of interview.

⁴ See the WUS archive at Warwick University for detailed information.

The opportunity arose to apply for a grant to study from the World University Service, an educational charity based in London. Through the church they notified me that they wanted to see me. I went for an interview at the Vicaría de la Solidaridad and they told me about this programme. They asked me whether I was interested. I confirmed that I felt I was unable to have a normal life, so I applied for the grant, and after some difficulties, they granted me to become part of this programme. Initially, the British government had refused to give me a visa, but that problem was eventually ironed out. So, they gave me a visa as a student to come to the UK. So, I came in September, 1st Sept 1977.

Marcelo (male, 63, exile, arrived in 1977, student from poor background)

I came here because I was the wife of a political refugee, and I was made redundant by the university a year and a half before. I was looking for a million jobs but the downward social mobility in exile started for me there in Chile. So, when my husband was released from prison, I did all the dealings to get a visa, a scholarship for him. He got a visa from Germany because his mother was half German, half Chilean but he didn't have a job or scholarship. And then I managed to get a visa and a scholarship from the WUS here in England.

Noelia (Female, 75, exile, academic, arrived in 1976 with Chilean now ex-husband)

These quotes illustrate the breadth of assistance that the WUS was able to provide to those who often had no other options. For Marcelo, the programme offered a lifeline to escape Chile and to eventually obtain a visa. Noelia was able to access WUS support for her husband which meant that both of them were able to leave Chile and arrive in England. The WUS programme 'was characterised by a complex intertwining of developmental and humanitarian objectives' (World University Service, 1986). The creation of a developmental focus rested on addressing the need to enable Chilean

exiles, many of whom came from the Chilean academy, to 'strengthen the community's ability to contribute to the future development of Chile' and in doing so, this allowed funding for the Reorientation Programme to support this training, supported by the UK Overseas Development Agency, a forerunner of the Department For International Development and now the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (World University Service, 1986). The meaning and application of the developmental objectives of this programme will be explored in Chapter Nine in relation to other development initiatives.

One of the interviewees travelled from Argentina having moved there after the coup. Whilst living in precarious circumstances in a church with his pregnant wife things became dangerous there also and he appealed to the United Nations for assistance. With their help, he and his family were put forward to various Embassies with the British being the first to accept them and issue a visa. Though the physical mechanism for exit from Chile and entry to the UK varied in each case, there are similarities in every account of the lack of options and choice, as Jaime and Umberto illustrate:

Neither of us spoke English so it was a shock for us because when we got here, we realised that English was going to be a big problem, you know?

Jaime (Male, 67, exile, arrived in 1977, accountant, returned to Chile in 2018)

People began to leave prisons and arrive in England. The English had got organised and set up the Chile Solidarity Campaign, a national organisation made up of English people to stand in solidarity with Chile. But in parallel to this was also the Chile Human Rights Campaign, for the protection of human rights for those who remained there. And it was also led by British people all over Britain. Until the Chileans arrived. The Chileans, we started organising ourselves into the political parties we had back in Chile. So, we brought our parties with us and of course we had contact with the English to be able to direct the solidarity a bit towards the

interests we had, so it should be more focused, but more centralised towards what we in each party needed.

Umberto (Male, 79, exile, arrived in 1976)

In virtually all cases examined, the people made their decision based on what was available to them at that point in time, in other words, it was a decision made for survival. Only one or two of the exiles expressed a distinct preference for the UK as the place of exile. It is worth noting that for the exiles, the decision to leave was seen as a temporary measure, born of immediate danger, and not based on consideration of longer-term goals or future plans. There is a certain 'taken for grantedness' in the literature around time and migration and it is frequently overlooked and not discussed explicitly (Griffiths et al., 2013, p. 2). However, attention to temporality is an essential part of this research and we see here how time can be experienced differently by people at different stages of the refugee process. Michele's comment below tells us about her reaction to the option she was given to come to England at that moment in time:

Not happy. I cannot say that I was happy to come to England. I was happy to leave Chile. I didn't KNOW England, I had no idea what the country was, I didn't know the culture. I spoke very little of the language. I learnt some English at school but England and English culture was not part of my books, At ALL!

Michele (Female, 68, exile, poet, arrived in 1975)

As we follow Michele's story later, we will see how the passage of time affects her feelings about living in England. Although united to some extent by their shared status as 'exiles', they were a diverse group with differing backgrounds and political affiliations. Denoting them as 'left-wing' does not explain the key ideological differences and party affiliations which indicated different perspectives, and the people who came in the UK were not natural allies at the beginning of the exile period. In those early days, the first few arrivals did not have much support. Some were taken to a hotel for refugees in

London whilst others were left to fend for themselves. Some exiles did not have the opportunity to meet others for some time, several years in some cases, and were very isolated, as Maria suggests:

When we arrived, one of my daughters was at secondary school and she couldn't get used to it. It wasn't that she was rejected or anything, no, it was just that it was difficult for her to adapt at her age and without knowing the language. So, she, well, I realised over time, that really she was suffering from a kind of depression. Because she was always alone.

Maria (Female, 78, exile, teacher, arrived in 1976 with her husband and children, now returned to Chile)

As exiles fleeing a regime of terror and repression, they have persistent particular issues which set them apart from other Chilean migrants. Whilst the experiences of those imprisoned or tortured in Chile were not the principal focus of the interviews, in many cases, details of these horrific experiences and their long-lasting impact emerged. All the exiles had suffered differing levels of stress from intimidation and imprisonment through to serious torture which affects some to this day. Despite the diverse level of detail which people shared in their interviews, their suffering came through clearly in the often quiet and measured way they explained what they had endured during their time in detention, and sometimes notorious places of torture like Villa Grimaldi. With some of the exiles, often the men, it was evident through their manner of speaking and body language, that despite the stoical and factual manner in which they told their stories, the horrors of what they had experienced were unspeakable and remained with them to this day.

During the day, we were downstairs in the cellar of the boat so that the people who came near to the boat on the pier didn't see anything at all, it all looked very normal. But after the curfew, at night, they made us go up and the interrogations took place in the cabins of the boat. They did all sorts of things to us, electric shocks, blows to the stomach. I had electric

shocks to my mouth, I lost the whole of the floor of my mouth. I had to have a lot of dental treatment to the roof and the floor. After 3 months there, my family found out that I was alive.

Eduardo (Male, 75, exile, teacher, arrived in 1975)

Most of the exiles shared the experience of living with the expectation of returning to Chile, what Kay described in her study of Chileans in the UK as the 'fiercely held idea that exile would be a short, transitory affair' (Kay, 1987, p. 68). Many interviewees referred to it as living 'with the suitcases packed', as exemplified by Stef and Maria:

My father has always had his suitcase ready for the moment he is supposed to leave Norway. And he's had his suitcase ready for what, 27, 28 years. And he's still in Norway.

Stef (Female, 38, psychologist, daughter of Chilean exiles moved to Norway aged 7 in the 1980s, now moved to Britain to study and work)

I think all the people thought the same. We had people here [Chile] who missed us, so thinking it would be short. There were people with the suitcases packed and who didn't want to unpack them, and when we saw that the apartment we had there, which was very good, in Woolwich, we never thought we'd move again, because we were more settled. But sometimes you have to see it like that in order to feel more secure and settled.

Maria (Female, 78, exile, teacher, arrived in 1976 with her husband and children, now returned to Chile)

The effect of such approaches to living in the UK was a discernible feeling of temporariness, that life in the UK was not a permanent situation but merely an interlude in their normal lives. Anything that lent the feeling of life becoming more long-term such as learning English challenged this notion and made people uncomfortable. This sense of temporariness runs through many of the accounts of Chilean exiles in their countries

of refuge whether England, Sweden or Switzerland (Askeland and Sonneland, 2011, Bolzman, 2011; Kay, 1987). Bolzman explores the temporal aspects of temporary flight, lasting realities and the 'discovery of time as a scarce good' whereby exiles learn that time manifests differently than in Chile (Bolzman, 1994, p. 327). Time relating to forms of social discipline regulates behaviour and experience in different places (Page et al., 2017). Bolzman argues that temporality segments exile life in diaspora into stages which lead to the eventual return to Chile or to the acceptance of what he calls the 'post-exile period' and thus, attention turns to questions of permanence and associated citizens' rights in Switzerland. In the context of adaptation and incorporation to life in Switzerland, the process is not necessarily a linear one that relates to the length of time resident (Bolzman, 1994, p. 330).

Recent research looking at the lives of UK-based exiles through to the present has focused on the claiming of commemorative spaces by second and third generation Chileans in a re-definition of political struggle (Serpente, 2011, 2014, 2015). This literature focuses on theories of memory and remembrance which implicitly references time in discussing 'how present political actions can in turn inform new critical inquiries towards the past' (Serpente, 2015, p. 52). Despite these examples of an awareness and sensibility around time in the accounts of Chilean exiles in diaspora, explicit examinations of temporality and acknowledgment of its importance in studies of diaspora are few (Erdal, 2017; Mavroudi, 2017). In taking a long view of the diaspora with attention to the effects of time on individuals, families and organisation, this research traces the way time is experienced at different migration and different life stages. Thus, it adds an important and essential dimension to our understanding of diasporas.

The prevailing theme that continually emerges from many exile accounts is that they will forever be outsiders, people who never quite fit in in either country that is supposed to be 'home', people who remember things as they were and who cannot fully relate to how they are now. Their stories demonstrate that all have been forced to change through their circumstances and therefore see the world differently, as there has been

'too much change in the world to ever return to the same place' (Page et al., 2017, p. 1). Time in most cases has not seemed to heal, merely to bring further pain through the continued separation of families in subsequent generations. Everyone interviewed spoke of the heartfelt difficulties of seeing loved ones regularly because they are in Chile, dealing with ill health from afar and the loss of precious times together. In research on Chilean exiles in Belgium, this phenomenon is described as '[e]xile forever' an ongoing experience that will *a/ways* mark them forever and that leaves permanent deep scars (Cornejo, 2008, p. 342). As Isabel reflects:

Neither here nor there, I mean, the damage. Well, that's the point you see. The damage of the coup wasn't just the disappearances, the assassinations. It's what we are now. It's deep...it's very profound...and the damage is huge, huge. We seem to have lost a thread. The people who left Chile...obviously, there's something...I'm not sure if it is just Chile or with every country, but you don't 'leave' it somehow.

Isabel (Female, 52, exile, left Chile in 1973 age 9 with her mother after her father was murdered, arrived in UK and returned to Chile in 1983)

Isabel's comment gets to the very heart of the issue; the damage and trauma experienced by the exiles, and not only them, but the country as a whole, has acutely affected Chile and the Chilean population in an irreversible manner. The long temporal lens of this research reveals the interruption of the life-course through exile, the re-establishment of a new life and in some cases, the re-attachment to 'home' or for others, the continuation of exile time. The clash between the exile time and the time of the new migrants from 1990 forefronts this damage that Isabel identifies, in making explicit in diaspora the political tensions that persist and endure.

5.3 Moves of Opportunity, Love and Success: Through the Decades

This section describes the newer members of the Chilean diaspora, answering another part of the research question on who the diaspora consists of. It also begins to answer part of the second research question on the activities and practices of this section of diaspora. The second group of people to migrate from Chile to the UK is a much looser cohort, and in some cases, without real ties or in-depth shared experiences that bind them together. However, for the purposes of this study, it is useful to group them as one and identify some of the characteristics and issues that are similar for these people. This group is made up of diverse individuals who left Chile for a variety of reasons comprising a range of opportunities and choices. Scholars have argued for a 'sexual turn' and an 'emotional turn' in migration studies to recognise these overlooked aspects in decision making processes (Anderson and Smith, 2001; Mai and King, 2009, p. 296). Eleven of the interviewees (out of twenty one in this group) made a choice to come to the UK based on their romantic relationship with a British person, and in most cases marriage to a British person either preceded or followed their move. Eight of the interviewees left Chile and came to the UK for reasons which span job opportunities, friends or family, and sometimes simply circumstances drifting that way. Two people had reasons which were a mixture of opportunity and romantic relationships. Whilst the majority of this group came after 1990, there were four people who arrived before this. Sabina, one of the early members of this group, is not part of the exile cohort although she came to the UK in 1971. Her parents left Chile at the start of Allende's presidency, with growing concern for the rising unrest they could see around them. For people within this group of migrants, their migration experiences vary widely, though difficulties adapting and getting used to the British way of life and culture were common to many, as Sabina attests:

Although I feel I speak English, the emotional language, Chileans speak with their hands and with their heart, but English people don't. I could speak the language but I didn't really feel like I was part of the community because of the culture and I hadn't grown up in this type of....just in a

different completely way even though it's the same language, the emotions are very different and at that stage, I didn't know that. So that was quite hard and I felt as if I just had to survive.'

Sabina (Female, 62, arrived 1971, half British and half Chilean)

Where people actively chose to come to the UK, their level of involvement in the wider Chilean community tends to depend on various factors. Many are well embedded into life in Britain, often as a result of having a British partner. As a result, some do not feel that having access to a Chilean community is very important to them:

I was looking for an experience that was totally English. I wanted to really absorb and be immersed in English culture and get a real sense of what the country was about, and that was my interest. I wasn't interested in building relationships with Chileans or Latin Americans. If they happened naturally, I would welcome them but I never went looking for it.

Flaminia (Female, 55, self-employed, arrived 1982)

This distance from other Chileans had different causes for different people though similar sentiments were echoed amongst this group. For some, the decision to leave Chile and start a new life meant they actively sought new ways of being, leaving behind the constrictions they felt that Chilean society placed upon them:

I don't feel like it's my duty to make a country away from my country. For me, if you move to a country, you ought to acquire the country's culture and respect that and try to lead your life within their parameters. And I like that. I think I'm better suited to a British approach to life than a Chilean one anyway. At least I feel more comfortable, whereas in Chile I felt a little bit odd and a little bit too upfront and blond and sarcastic...whereas here nobody notices it mainly. No, I'm just not interested...and specially as the topics of conversation ALWAYS end up being political and my political views are quite different to many of the people that are living here.

Fabiana (Female, 35, psychologist and businesswoman, arrived 2008, married to British man)

In certain ways, I sometimes feel that the only connection you have or the only similarity is your nationality more than anything. And probably those people are not going to be my friends if I was in Chile.

Patricia (female, 42 years, arrived 1999, researcher, married to Chilean man)

Some did not seek out other Chileans from the beginning of their time in the UK but sometimes chose to do so later on as result of moving from one life stage to another. For instance, one interviewee mentioned that part of her decision to start participating with the Chilean community was influenced by her first pregnancy:

I wasn't really involved in any activities or anything until recently when I heard about Comunidad Chile. That's when I contacted them and started doing things. I guess, more Chilean things. Actually, it started because when I went to the Consulate for some paperwork, the Consul asked me to come to his office and talk about stuff and he was the one actually that pointed out this group. And that's how I looked at this group and talking to my husband about it, he thought it would be a nice opportunity to be part of the Chilean community with the baby and meet other Chileans.

Clara (Female, 37, arrived 2012, academic and biologist, married to British man)

Like Clara, Paloma also experienced a change in her family situation due to illness that was the catalyst to seek out other Chileans in the UK, after a long period where this had not been of interest to her:

Funnily enough, I thought I didn't want to. I didn't want to keep in contact with anyone but when it hit twenty years, certain things also happened in

my family and it really made me feel that I needed that. I needed to go back. So, I started looking for that connection.

Paloma (Female, 44, investment banker, arrived in 1993, married to British man)

In this study where understanding who people are is key, it is necessary to confront questions of gender, class and race at play within the diaspora. Questions of gender are on the agenda today in Chile, but within the diaspora people were largely silent on this issue. The importance of gender dynamics within the exile cohort has been studied and documented, as discussed in Chapter Three. The literature and data gathered showed that many exile activities and spaces were strongly gendered, but despite this some women were able to carve out opportunities, roles and develop new skills (Gideon, 2016, 2018; Kay, 1987, 1988; López Zarzosa, 1998, 2011). However, this was not an issue that people in the other cohorts spoke about or appeared to be directly concerned with themselves. The spaces of diaspora today were not highlighted by interviewees as being subject to particular gendered issues, although this was beyond the scope of the interview questions. Class structures within Chilean society remain deeply felt today, where questions commonly asked about where you grew up or the school or university attended serve to place you within a specific social class. None of the interviewees seemed particularly interested in or concerned about issues of race and indigenous rights per se, and this was rarely mentioned at all though it has been a subject of interest and increased activism in Chile for many years now, particularly regarding the Mapuche people (Richards, 2005). This could be because the majority of interviewees perceive themselves as 'white' and unconnected to these issues. Alternatively, respondents may have been unwilling to acknowledge these issues through a sense of discomfort or embarrassment.

It is often not the poorest migrants who move overseas (McKenzie, 2017). It is likely that many people interviewed have a certain level of relative privilege which was evident in their conversations around their education levels and family backgrounds. Some were from the very top echelons of Chilean society who attended prestigious private schools

and universities. Most of the others were from a range of middle-class backgrounds with a few from the working class. Despite these deeply riven divisions within Chilean society, these were not issues often discussed in the data. Most commonly, these issues were treated in the fashion of something taken for granted. Whilst people may not have wanted to state this explicitly, sources of division amongst diaspora organisation representatives may well have been due to racial prejudice as some of the leaders were from the high classes of society whilst a couple of others mentioned that they were of partly indigenous origin. Issues around loss of status on migration to the UK were frequently apparent both in the exile cohort and this group as well, and it appeared in some accounts that these were not articulated outwardly due to feelings of discomfort and shame which affected feelings of identity. This fear of lost status could be seen in attempts to reassert the ways in which they possessed 'higher' status than other Chileans, in references to markers of class status.

The assertion of class status in relation to others came across clearly in several accounts, as Natalia's comment shows here:

First thing I did was look online for a group of Chileans. I didn't even meet them. I can't remember the group, probably Chilenos en el UK, but I didn't like what I saw and read so I wasn't interested. I thought, I wouldn't be friends with these people in Chile and I'm not interested here. And because I have so many people coming and seeing me and I was setting up a new life, I wasn't really that interested. Two years ago, when my son started going to school, I wasn't working and I wasn't doing anything, I got a bit more nostalgic.

Natalia (female, 44, moved to UK 2007, married to British man)

Natalia's comments reveal a classed perspective in her lack of desire to participate in the group in question. In Chile, reference points of specific areas in Santiago or coastal holiday resorts people go to serve as a point of differentiation that demonstrates the class one belongs to. Her interview showed that Natalia comes from a well to do family

who live very comfortably, though they are not from the top elite section of society. From this comment and others made in the interview, it is evident that in referring to seeing things she did not like in the group, she means that the people there were of a lower class and showed a type of behaviour that she disliked. Class is a thread that weaves through many of the interviews, though it was rare for anyone to make this explicit.

In direct contrast to these views, there are several people in this group who have been pivotal in attempting to open up the Chilean community since the 1990s. This 'opening up' is seen in the desire to reach out to all Chileans, regardless of background or time of arrival. It is also seen in the sense of widening the organisational landscape of the Chileans to include a variety of new organisations (social and cultural) aside from the exile-based ones, and also, to reflect the fact that they have been instrumental in wanting to share Chilean culture with British people and others. This is a different treatment of Chilean culture compared to the way it was used by exile and related organisations as a means of producing solidarity, with the direct purpose of fundraising and combatting the dictatorship. Here, in these post-dictatorship times, Chilean culture is seen by diasporans as having intrinsic value in its own right which merits celebration and sharing with others. The organisations set up and their activities will be explored further in the next chapter, however it is relevant to mention here that these have provided the means for people in this loose group to get to know one another as fellow members of the Chilean diaspora, to enable some cutting across racial and class divisions as much as they might still prevail, and in some cases, to also get to know people in the other groups of exiles and students.

5.4 Postgraduate Students with a Cause: 2000 Onwards

Today in the UK, Chilean students make up a large proportion of the Chileans present. Twelve students in total were interviewed as part of this research, five in the UK and seven who had studied in the UK and subsequently returned to Chile. All of the latter group had completed their studies recently and were working or seeking work in Chile. Most of the students were funded by the Chilean government programme, Becas Chile,

to pursue postgraduate study at Master's and PhD level. This is part of a larger programme which aims to strengthen the advanced human capital of Chile by offering scholarships within Chile and overseas. Becas Chile is the overseas part which funds a postgraduate course and provides a stipend for living costs (ANID, n.d.). Students were the most recent arrivals amongst the interviewees studied as part of this research and represent the biggest new wave of Chilean migration to the UK. This group is diverse and encompasses a wide variety of people from different backgrounds and disciplines, united by the fact of being a Chilean student overseas. This is mostly a young group in their twenties and early thirties who have a very different experience to the other groups. The structure and rules of the scheme have changed from year to year, but a key feature is the requirement it places on recipients to return to Chile for a minimum specified period two years after finishing their course. Therefore, government funded students' time in the UK limited due to the expectation of return although self-funders sometimes stay on. They tend to perceive their time in the UK as temporary, a view shared by others in the diaspora.

The flows and geographies of student migration have begun to be theorised following huge increases in international student movement across the world and scholars urge attention to both the specificity of student migrant flows and the multiplicity of students themselves (King and Raghuram, 2013; Raghuram, 2013). It is debatable whether students can be considered true members of a diaspora. In deciding that they are crucial members of the Chilean diaspora, this study argues that diaspora is not merely location or time based but reflective of a mindset and an approach to living as Chileans overseas that transcends time and space. The critical experience of the students, the way that they use their time in the UK to forge new professional links and networks to benefit both themselves and their country on return, and crucially, their own and others' views positioning them as pivotal members of the wider group of Chileans and the corresponding rights and responsibilities this entails, all points to the validity of including them as members of the diaspora. Students come together with other diaspora members in created spaces which are more significant than fields that merely span 'home' and 'host' but are diasporic spaces which bridge categories of new and old or

voluntary and forced (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992; Guarnizo et al., 2003; Ramírez, 2015). Their interactions, connections, transnationality and contributions affirm their place as part of the UK diaspora. The interaction between different parts of the diaspora including students is something altogether new that is just beginning to be examined in the literature (Sondhi, 2019). Whether this is a feature distinctive of the Chilean diaspora remains to be seen but it shows an ability to connect between the different cohorts which has the effect of compressing those aspects of time and generation which could otherwise serve to divide.

Students come to the UK with the express intention of getting qualifications to improve their prospects in Chile as an overseas degree confers significant benefits. Most of the students mentioned long-held admiration for the British education system which holds a certain cachet in Chile. The Piñera government (in power from 2010-2014 and currently serving a second term in office since 2018) introduced a requirement to the Becas Chile scheme that students had to apply to the top universities in international rankings to qualify. This drew many more students to the UK as many of these universities are British ones. Some were driven by the course of study at a particular institution but the majority of them directly referred to a British education as adding a special value to the experience, as Fernando asserts:

In my generation, there is a huge interest in British culture. I used to go to the disco listening to Brit pop. British culture is very respected. We have strong links with the British. The education system started in relation to the UK system.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

Life as a student in the UK is experienced very differently according to people's circumstances. Many had come with a spouse or partner and some with children as well. Those who were reliant completely on government stipends found life in the UK expensive and difficult to negotiate with limited funds. Clara contends:

They give very little money to a lot of people so students come to UK and face the difficulties of this expensive country and I don't think it's fair for them to be worrying about their studies plus how can they make everything cheaper because it's not enough money. I mean, all the people I met with Becas Chile it's just a joke, a serious joke so they should give less. They should offer less scholarships but better ones.

Clara (Female, 37, arrived 2012, academic and biologist, married to British man)

For some students, being able to spend time living and studying in the UK is the primary driver and therefore they do not necessarily actively seek out other Chileans. However, most members of this group make good use of the Chilean student organisations available in several UK universities. These organisations mainly run social events, providing the means for Chilean students to connect. A small proportion of students deliberately seek out or interact with the other types of Chilean organisations in the UK, usually through personal contacts or for specific reasons. For a few students, being welcomed into exile circles in the UK, which occurred through personal contacts and introductions, was a formative part of their time here. A number of students engage with the more flexible and diverse organisations such as Chilenos en el UK and attend their social events.

The student experience is a classed one just as within other sections of the diaspora and the differences between those who struggle on the government stipend and those who have family wealth behind them is stark. A very small minority of students manage to replicate their social status in much the same way as in Chile (this was seen clearly amongst the upper-class, wealthiest Chileans) and therefore feel that they have no real need to meet Chileans outside of this. Their circles are based on existing family and social connections from Chile. They do not seem as active in the Chilean student organisations as others, probably because they already possess significant status and power in Chile and do not need to gain this through their time in the UK.

For most students though, the advantages of studying in the UK bring opportunity and for some, completely new horizons. The acquiring of human capital is key to the international student experience where students are the only group of migrants who move primarily for this reason (Baláž & Williams, 2004). Some students active in Chilean student organisations see this as a stepping-stone to networking and building potentially beneficial contacts for future employment and success in Chile. This type of upward social mobility is particularly important in a country like Chile where ‘*el pituto*’ (the ability to open doors through connections or influence) is considered key. One interviewee told me that he was able to make the type of connections here that he would never be able to achieve in Chile:

I am becoming part of the elite, it's interesting. My father ended his days as a taxi driver. He was originally an accountant, my mother too, they met in the same company. But because of the economic problems we had, that's how he ended up. I'm kind of an example of social mobility. Now I'm part of the elite. I talk with the Ambassador. I'm being offered interesting jobs in Chile because people there know I'm finishing my doctorate in the University of London, something very valued. So, my perspective in the next few years is to be part of the elite but not coming from the elite.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

As well as advancing their own prospects, virtually all the students interviewed (who come from a wide variety of social and political backgrounds) take the development of Chile and a focus on inequality as key issues for their studies and future work lives to tackle head on. This stems from personal convictions, professional ambitions and also, significantly, from the framework and objectives of Becas Chile. Becas Chile was designed to enhance the human capital of Chile, like other development focused scholarship programmes that have been recently given further prominence through the inclusion of scholarships in the Sustainable Development Goals (Novotny et al., 2020). This programme, set up in response to OECD imposed conditions for furthering Chile's levels of professionals with postgraduate education, provides funding for postgraduate

study overseas with an aim to improve Chile's innovation and competitiveness and contribute to the country's overall development. Development itself is a key focus that students are expected to incorporate within their studies. The meaning and effects of this programme and student driven involvement in the cause of 'development' will be studied further in Chapter Nine.

The students interviewed were focused on thinking about the development needs of Chile from their own personal viewpoints and how to utilise their studies to best contribute to development as required by the scholarships. All the student respondents were concerned about high levels of inequality in Chile, as exemplified by Luis:

I would say inequality is more in the debate in the last few years, especially since everyone insists we are a developed country but not everyone is seeing the benefits of this. In the last thirty years the focus was on growth, growth, economic growth, but now we have reached a level where everyone is saying, ok, we have developed and we are getting better and better but things are still massively unequal.

Luis (Male, 26, arrived 2013, Masters student)

The Chilean state is spending a significant amount of money on this programme. Perhaps unsurprisingly therefore, the Consul at the time of fieldwork in the UK showed a keen interest in the Chilean students. Student representatives were invited to events at the Consulate and deliberate attempts were made to actively maintain productive relationships with them. This follows the ethos of DICOEX (Dirección para la Comunidad de Chilenos en el Exterior) a government organisation that promotes links between Chile and those Chileans who live overseas. Background interviews with the Consul, DICOEX, ChileGlobal and CONICYT⁵ (Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica) were carried out to gain greater understanding of the importance of the student population for the Chilean state and the continued focus on development as a stated aim of the scholarship programmes.

⁵ Now called ANID – Agencia Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter responded to the first of my research sub questions, ‘to what degree has a UK-based Chilean diaspora emerged over time and who does it consist of?’ Through this analysis of the different cohorts that make up the diaspora today, I have built a sense of the diversity and dynamism of the UK-based Chilean diaspora, focusing on how different migration flows have produced distinct but interrelated layers through time. I have shown that the diaspora consists of a much wider and heterogeneous group of Chileans than has been understood to date through focus on a particular experience and time – exile and the 1970s and 1980s. Adding to the existing work on exiles, I have demonstrated how time is experienced by this cohort, in the long-term persistence of the after-effects of traumatic experiences and the carrying of the past within the present.

The other, newer members of the diaspora have been identified to establish the diversity of who makes up the diaspora today. The motives behind their moves and the nature of their experiences have begun to be explored to understand the issues that concern them and their relationships to other Chileans. Therefore, the trajectory of the diaspora has been laid out, showing how the make-up of the people within has changed over the years from the early 1970s to the present day. The extended period of time this study explores enables us to see how a diaspora evolves and is reinvented over years into something quite different to its origins. I have identified the different layers of the diaspora, each with its own distinctive socio-economic and political dynamics, sets of individual motivations, modes of organising, and senses of connection with Chile. This focus on the layers and contours of the diaspora is important as a means to reveal more of its diversity and dynamism, and how understanding this allows an analysis of the interactions and links to Chile that I go on to look at in subsequent chapters.

The next chapter will take this new data on the different layers of the Chilean diaspora and move onto an exploration of the organisations set up by these different cohorts during different time periods. A focus on organisations is particularly important in my

analysis to understand the roles they play in people's lives and how they act as channels for linking with Chile and facilitating developmental activity. I will trace the set-up, evolution, and eventual disappearance of some of the exile organisations in the 1970s and 80s, followed by the new organisations that reflect the concerns of the more recently arrived cohorts post-1990 and beyond. The organisations mirror the trajectory of the diaspora itself, and that of its homeland, and will allow us to delve into the detail of interactions between the cohorts and between the diaspora and 'home'. Each research question was designed to focus attention on the different time periods of the diaspora, to gain understanding of the specific characteristics that each era contributes to the organisational landscape of diaspora. Taking into account the political and historical background throughout the diaspora trajectory is essential to understand the rationale for the existence of different organisations and their impact and effect amongst the cohorts.

Chapter Six

From Solidarity to Diversity: Making Visible Chilean Organisations

In this chapter, I will focus on the way that organisations formed by the Chilean diaspora operate at the very heart of diaspora life, for those diaspora members who constitute what can be called the ‘organised diaspora’ (Lampert, 2010). I will look at the different organisations that have emerged in response to particular social and political events in Chile over the period in question and how they have responded to diaspora needs. Chilean organisations provide a window into the collective activities and practices that form part of people’s lives as members of a diaspora. This gives the opportunity to study the nature of collective endeavour from a temporal perspective, displaying the politics and power dynamics at play. Organisations also provide the means to understand which parts of the diaspora are engaged by the Chilean state and which are discounted or ignored. Certain organisations provide legitimacy and credibility and are able to attract funding and ‘positive’ attention, whilst others do not.

Instead of a comprehensive evaluation of organisations and their objectives, this research seeks to explore how diasporans’ lives interact with organisations and how organisations have changed over time. Organisational life in the Chilean diaspora has been key to its original formation and operation as well as its continued evolution. The Chilean organisations have been key channels through which development is discussed and focused on, and through which it occurs both organically and as a planned project of intervention. They allow us to explore how development is explicitly imagined and pursued, as well as the alternative framings diasporans apply to their collective transnational practices.

The analysis and juxtaposition of the different cohorts identified in the previous Chapter necessarily includes evaluation of the organisations created over this lengthy time period as a key mechanism of transnational connection. Diaspora organisations are often portrayed in the literature as stemming from a shared origin, typically geographical (Lampert, 2009; Orozco, 2006; Portes et al., 2007). They have been documented as

performing essential functions which transcend borders and having transformative effects in their countries of origin (Faist, 2008; Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002; Vertovec, 2004). Whilst some attention has centred on the negative aspects of diaspora organisations in their replication of power structures from back 'home' in diaspora (Lampert, 2009; Mohan, 2008), little focus has been given to the negative impact of organisational membership on the well-being of diaspora members, particularly over many years. This gap is addressed here with findings that attest to the tensions caused by organisational activities and their conflicting effects. The literature also focuses mainly on those who live at the centre of diaspora life, locating them through their organisations but leaving unexamined those who live on the edges. In deliberately seeking those outside the main organisations, this research contributes an innovative perspective, capturing the views and experiences of those who see things through their own lens.

This account of Chilean organisations does not claim to be exhaustive as it is based on respondents' personal experiences of them. Recollections of names, dates and accounts of organisations and their objectives have been affected by the passage of time on respondents' memories and it was not always possible to get accurate information on exactly when organisations were set up or certain events took place. In addition, there was sometimes confusion over which organisation carried out what activity. This is no doubt due to a combination of the time involved, the plethora of organisations in existence and notably, a great deal of overlap in membership. Nor does this chapter aim to provide a thorough history of these organisations, several of which originating from the exile cohort have been documented elsewhere (Angell, 2001; Bowen, 2020; Livingstone, 2020; Wilkinson, 1992). Rather, it seeks to examine the relevance of these organisations to diaspora members personally and collectively. I argue that the experience of living in diaspora over time sees shifts in personal encounters with Chilean organisations, which themselves move through processes of re-formulation or re-invention in response to changing political and social circumstances in Chile and in the UK.

6.1 Exile Organisations: Solidarity, Support and Activism

The UK-based exile organisations are the first Chilean organisations to have been documented in the literature; however, the Anglo-Chilean Society existed long before these, having been set up in 1944. It was established by the Chilean Ambassador and a British man to increase awareness and understanding of Chile in the UK. Whilst this organisation is important for the Chilean Embassy and Chilean elites, providing business contacts and connections to the wider UK business community, it had little relevance to most of the interviewees in this research, though many had strong opinions about it. There were a couple of exceptions, namely one of the interviewees who is on the board of the Society. He has been in England since the mid 1980s through marrying a British woman and is a prominent businessman with strong and active links to Chile, both familial and charitable. The other interviewee with connections to the Society is a long-standing Embassy employee. Over the years, he has worked at several of the Society events, providing catering services. For most of the Chileans interviewed, they see the Society as representing and catering to the elite section of the Chilean upper classes with prestigious and expensive events. The presence of this small group of elite Chileans is likely to be the legacy of British mining, naval and financial interests in Chile in the 1800s and 1900s (Markham, 2017; Mayo, 2001).

The organisations that supported the exiles through their first few decades in the UK were numerous and very active. It is well known that the exiles were versed in organising themselves and that collective life had been a common and key feature of the social and political landscape in Chile prior to the coup (Bermudez, 2010, p. 83; Kay, 1987, p. 71). Chileans have been described as some of the best organised and well-structured migrants in the UK, no doubt a legacy of the strong levels of activism and participatory backgrounds of the exiles (Ramírez, 2015; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). After the coup in 1973, a number of UK-based organisations were created that played a critical role in the reception and settlement of Chilean exiles and ongoing solidarity with Chile. These can be loosely divided into solidarity organisations, political

organisations and social organisations although there were overlaps; however, for heuristic reasons I use this classification.

Many of the Chileans forced into exile were adept at planning and building cohesive organisational structures given their backgrounds in political parties, trade unions and university organisations in Chile, as Juan asserted:

You have to realise that Chileans are amazing at organising, they organise for everything, they have committees for everything, they have organisations for everything.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

Amongst the key organisations set up in support of the Chilean exiles after the coup, were the Chile Solidarity Campaign (CSC) and in 1974, the Chile Committee for Human Rights (CCHR). The CSC, started by a broad coalition of British leftist groups and actively supported by Judith Hart (Labour MP and Minister for Overseas Development between 1967 and 1968), grew into a large entity with branches all over the UK (Bowen, 2020). The CCHR had a more politically moderate base with a focus on legal and human rights issues, working closely with the CSC (Livingstone, 2020). Both organisations worked alongside the WUS, the Joint Working Group for Refugees and Academics for Chile. The CSC and CCHR were formed to provide solidarity with the Chileans, put pressure on the British government and to encourage public support of the Chilean cause. All the exiles mentioned the CSC and the CCHR repeatedly throughout their interviews and for many, they were a key source of support for many years. Exiles themselves, British trade unions and students were amongst the members of these collectives. Chile Democrático was another key exile organisation, established in Rome in 1974, its British arm providing another focal point in the exile UK landscape (Bowen, 2020).

For the exiled Chileans, the organisations were an essential lifeline and connection to 'home' and fellow exiles. Despite their ideological differences, solidarity was the overall

focus of their work - providing visibility to the Chilean cause, ensuring that the human rights atrocities committed were made public around the world and connecting action all over the globe. They raised valuable funds used to fund resistance to Pinochet and to support families in Chile who had been affected by the coup. They also, in some cases, provided connections to British people who supported the exile cause, resulting in many life-long friendships. Many of the organisations at the time were political in nature to varying degrees, sometimes explicitly so. Local arms of Chilean political parties were swiftly set up by active members who had been forced into exile and established the more formal political environment in which the diaspora operated. Branches of the Socialist Party and Communist Party sat alongside the CCHR and the CSC, of which the latter were focused more on confronting the public face of the Pinochet regime and exposing the atrocities being carried out in the country.

People gravitated towards those organisations that represented 'home' for them as a reflection of what they had left behind. Those who had been very politically active in Chile like Raymundo, Eduardo and Jaime, spent the majority of their spare time engaged in activities for their political parties, much as they had done previously, albeit here with a stronger focus on solidarity. Loss of identity related to the change in their circumstances was keenly felt (Kay, 1987, p. 61-62), thus the recreation of such spaces where they could once again find a sense of purpose were vital. As well as fundraising and raising awareness of the plight of Chileans under the dictatorship, these organisations brought the exiles together in a shared space that felt familiar. These spaces allowed exiles to rediscover and reclaim a political sensibility and activism that had been denied them by the dictatorship and their forced move to a new and uncertain place (Ramírez, 2015). Interviews showed the importance of these spaces for the exiles themselves as well as in efforts focused on those in Chile, as Juan comments:

In Cambridge, the Chilean community created an organisation and younger people, a folk group, so we started to do solidarity work, increasing awareness about Chile, dancing and singing, collecting money for solidarity. But mainly it was solidarity work. The emphasis was not very

much on political activity related to political parties per se, it was more solidarity groups and a lot of work on human rights. Then I learnt English to help our own community but also to work as interpreters for the political prisoners who were being released and help with letters and so forth, and then we used to do lots of interpreting, not only for Chileans but also refugees from other Latin American countries who came through Amnesty.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

The kind of situation Juan describes above was common amongst the exile interviewees, some of whom had not been explicitly political in nature, but by dint of their experiences and resulting exiled situation, became involved in solidarity organisations. For many, the issue of solidarity was at the heart of their participation in diaspora life, and there were multiple organisations to facilitate this. One powerful aspect of solidarity work was utilising the experiences of those who had suffered human rights violations themselves to share their stories, as Michele explains:

I started attending some meetings of the Chile Committee for Human Rights. We were still very traumatised, all of us. The main task was 'denuncia', explaining what the dictatorship was doing in Chile at that time. How awful it was.

Michele (Female, 68, exile, poet, arrived in 1975)

It should not be underestimated that whilst the organisations provided material and emotional support to exile members in many cases, the opposite was also true. Several of the interviews revealed the personal cost that participation in the organisational activities caused them, exemplified by Michele's experience:

It was a very, very, very long time, for many years. I worked with them, sporadically...sometimes more, sometimes less. It depended what I was doing. Or depending on my own psychological situation because I was very damaged by torture. So, from time to time...I..I don't know. There

were times when I could function almost normally but there were times when I don't remember at all what I did with my life. So, it was on and off. I remember going to these meetings of the Chile Committee for Human Rights and hearing briefings of how bad the situation was and really having...sort of shock, and going out feeling so lost. Um...that I would just need assistance. Psychological assistance. So, I would stay away a few months and then I would go back.

Michele (Female, 68, exile, poet, arrived in 1975)

This perspective demonstrates the complex nature of individual experiences of organisational life. Participation might wax and wane depending on personal circumstances, health or a multitude of internal and external factors. Not so different to everyday life in any given situation, one might observe. However, the overriding perception that often prevails in current narratives around diaspora organisations, namely that they are a source of energy, idea generation and dynamic leadership is one that lacks appreciation of their other dimensions and characteristics. As others have observed, diaspora organisations can be a source of conflict, impositions of cultural norms from 'home' and attempts to re-assert past hierarchies (Lampert, 2009; Mohan, 2006, 2008). Not only are these conflicts and attempts at dominance frequently present in the Chilean case, but as seen from Michele's words, they are also potentially a source of reliving past pain.

The long-term effects of trauma experienced by refugees are well documented in the literature and have been described as 'immeasurable, long lasting and shattering to both their inner and outer selves' (George, 2010, p. 379). Michele was amongst several of the exiles in expressing the difficulties she faced in continually confronting evidence of torture and repression similar to which she had endured. This dimension of the Chilean organisations has not been explored fully. The diaspora spaces touched upon in Chapters Two and Three are places of new beginnings but also 'sites of trauma, mourning and dislocation' (Ramírez, 2014, p. 11). This conflict problematises the notion of organisations as a force for positive action. In celebrating their achievements and

their success in mobilising across the globe, it is important to recognise their potential for creating opportunities for continued destabilisation amongst the exile members. The constant focus on life in Chile, the continual flow of bad news and repeated torture of fellow citizens were triggers for those involved who had undergone similar experiences of fear and horror. Diaspora space in the form of organisational life for exiles was thus simultaneously a source of comfort and familiarity, of solace and emotional sustenance, but also unsettling anxiety that gnaws away and generates continual foreboding.

A key site for Chileans was the place colloquially known as La Cancha (the field). Officially Club Deportivo Los Siempre Secos Londres, the football field in South London was a haven for those wanting to socialise, gather and share stories in a less political way. La Cancha served different purposes for different people, with diverse aspects of the scene providing the attraction as indicated in the quotes below. However, it was also imbued with politics, with multiple forms of political mobilisation taking place including political gatherings and symbolic political gestures (Ramírez, 2014). As Juan recalled:

La Cancha was the centre of the universe basically. Chilean society was divided between those who went to La Cancha and those who didn't go to La Cancha. People who went to La Cancha were people who liked football, like all Chileans but it was a social thing, a social class. La Cancha was for the poor, lower class whatever and so the intellectuals didn't go there. The rest of us went to play football. And there, you could eat empanadas and drink Chilean wine which wasn't allowed but we obviously did, and there were all the Chilean things that you wanted. For many years, that was the centre of the community.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

As Juan's comments reveal, the experience of exile was a classed one, with categories cutting across political affiliations to create divisions within the community. Although class was rarely discussed explicitly by the exiles, as they seemed to prefer to use political affiliations as a means of showing separation within their ranks, class divisions

were nevertheless often revealed in their comments through references to places and situations. Ramírez has provided a detailed ethnography of the practices and meanings of the diaspora space that La Cancha has created and re-created over the many years it has been in existence. In her view, the making of place here ‘involves the activation of memories of past homes in the places of the present’ (Ramírez, 2014, p. 670). This resonates strongly with the data gathered in this research, which points to the juxtaposition of past and present in particular diasporic moments, organisations and spaces.

As Chapter Three outlined, the experience of Chilean exile documented is heavily skewed towards the male perspective, with most literature focused around the activities of the political parties and solidarity organisations. The work of these key organisations during the dictatorship period was largely carried out by men, with women playing a supporting role behind the scenes. Scholars have drawn attention to the ‘gendered geographies of power’ (McIlwaine, 2010, p. 281) to assess changes as people migrate and the importance of using these sensibilities to gain a more nuanced picture of shifts in gender regimes and everyday migrant experiences in domestic as well as public domains (Mahler and Pessar, 2001; McIlwaine, 2010). Researchers like Kay (1987), Shayne (2009), López Zarzosa (2011) and Gideon (2018) have highlighted that the depiction of male Chilean exile renders almost invisible the work carried out by women in response to male dominance of the exile scene. Female exiles recognised their exclusion from the male spheres of influence and activity and countered these with their own efforts to fill in what they perceived as crucial gaps in the solidarity and survival focus of existing Chilean organisations (Kay, 1987; López Zarzosa, 2011; Shayne, 2009). Recent work on UK-based Chilean exiles casts a much-needed lens on the needs of the women themselves while arguing for a gendered awareness to be factored in to approaches to understanding of refugees without reducing women to stereotypes (Gideon, 2018). Accordingly, this study draws attention to the enduring disparity in value attributed to male-dominated ‘political’ work compared to other types of work through which women have made key contributions to sustaining diasporic collective action.

As time passed and the initial wave of exiles was followed by others, it became evident that the optimism that time in the UK was to be short was unwarranted. Chileans often came into exile as families and therefore there were significant numbers of young children present (Orellana, 1991). Children acted as go-betweens with 'host' nationals for their parents who had not learnt English, particularly in working class households where the cost of language courses meant women could not access them. The Chilean Saturday School movement emerged from the collective efforts of exiled women from different social backgrounds, concerned that their children were losing the identity of their homeland (López Zarzosa, 2011). The Niño Luchín Saturday School in North London was committed to preparing children for return to Chile. As Hector recounted:

My first visit to Chile in 1985 was thanks to that school. They sent me over as a representative to take part in some gathering for kids and I did some very unusual things for an 11 year old at the time. I had to stand on stage in front of hundreds of people and read out a speech. It gave us a voice, because I think in the whole scheme of things...you had people suffering the consequences of what was going on in Chile itself, you had the obvious refugees that were our parents but maybe not much consideration had been made for the second generation, those of us and some who were even born abroad. Because a lot of my friends were born in England. So, I think the Saturday school helped a lot, to give us a space as well. And that mission, or that trip I made at the time allowed me to. The speech was basically expressing our reality, our experience as kids. We're not from that country, we're from another country. We didn't know what future we had at the time, we didn't know if we were going to stay there, we didn't know if we were going to come back. I remember it was quite an emotional experience.

Hector (Male, 42, exile, arrived 1975 aged 1, returned to live in Chile)

Noelia, one of the interviewees, was one of the women responsible for setting up a number of the Saturday schools. She pointed out:

The Saturday schools offered exactly what was missing from this male organisation [Chile Democrático] taking care of working-class women, giving them English classes, activities for the children, classes of Latin American history and geography, and Chilean culture. And something which some parents thought was an ill thought objective, which was to prepare them for return. In case return happened.'

Noelia (Female, exile, 67, academic, arrived in 1976 with now ex-husband)

Noelia's comment here highlights, without saying so directly, her position as an educated woman of a higher class than those working-class women she sought to support. Whilst class differences persisted within the exile community, political solidarity was able to overcome these to a large extent (Roniger et al., 2017).

Noelia mentioned the Damocles sword that constantly threatened the children:

We're going to return, the watermelons are so lovely and big and this and that, the other...so there was this sort of schizophrenic picture of, on one side, Pinochet killing people, and on the other, Chile with the mountains and the Andes, the Cordillera...these competing views of Chile.

The role of the women's groups and Saturday schools was to provide an antidote to these starkly opposing positions and attempt to portray a more realistic picture.

Noelia's own positionality, that of an educated political woman abandoned by her Chilean husband shortly after arrival in the UK and without support from her political party, had resulted in her becoming one of the key figures involved in the recognition of the problems that women and children particularly faced. She said:

The hero was the important one, that sort of welcoming hero that comes from Chile with a beret, you know, the guerilleros and so they got ALL the attention while the women...

Noelia is evoking the stereotypical figure of the Latin American 'guerrilla' (resistance fighter) in her depiction of the way that male exiles were held up as 'heroes' whilst women and their work to get their male relatives out of Chile safely and keeping families together was largely ignored. This view was expressed by several of the female exiles, a few of whom went so far as to diminish their own work as unimportant compared to that done by the men. There is a telling point made in the testimony of Maria, a female exile who has since resettled back in Chile. She had to tell the story of both herself and partly that of her husband too, as due to ill health, he was not able to participate fully in the conversation at all times. In telling their stories, she constantly made reference to the fact that her story was not important like his. It was he who did the 'important' political work.

I'm sorry, it's a shame my husband can't take part, because he was a person dedicated to politics. He took an active part in many organisations. He would have done the talking and I wouldn't have done. It wasn't my intention to take over the conversation. One feels diminished when I think that he was the one that went through all those things, jail, imprisonment, the coup, everything! And me, here at home with the children, keeping studying, in front of all that.

Maria (Female, 78, exile, teacher, arrived in 1976 with her husband and children, now returned to Chile)

Maria and Noelia were both what Gideon (2018) calls the 'wife of' political prisoners. Maria's comment demonstrates the lack of value ascribed to the work she did as opposed to her husband's efforts, despite the work done behind the scenes by women being vital to keeping exile families going. In addition to this 'invisible' work, there were also high levels of activism by Chilean women both prior to their departure from Chile and in the UK (Gideon, 2018). Other studies of diaspora organisations show a similar pattern of women's work rendered invisible or in some way subordinate (Lampert, 2010). Even though women themselves often considered their work secondary,

interviews showed that they were central in forming inter-class solidarities and a sense of Chilean community, constituting key pillars of the organised Chilean diaspora.

Most of the afore-mentioned organisations had resonance far wider than the initial scope of their operations. This was two-fold. Firstly, a key aim of the solidarity organisations was to link with similar organisations set up by Chilean exiles all over the world. Wherever Chileans had ended up as a result of the coup's success in purging their presence from Chile, they had generated multiple organisations on different scales and these were connected globally by a network of formal and informal links (Bolzman, 2002, 2011). These links were a feature of virtually all the organisations, even in La Cancha as Juan explains:

La Cancha was actually quite key to solidarity work. We used to have every 1st May a football tournament that lasted 4 days. There used to be [Chilean] football teams from all over Europe...we created social networks before social networks were a thing!

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

However, on an even greater scale, it has been recognised that these organisations had huge impact and grew to form part of one of the largest human rights campaigns of the Cold War period (Christiaens, 2018). Moores (2017) asserts that the work of the Chilean solidarity organisations in the 1970s and 1980s contributed to the emergence and establishment of a transnational politics of human rights in the global sense. In this view, the Chilean exile transnational networks did much more than deliver victory for their own cause. They were pivotal in the breakthrough of a human rights agenda to the international stage, 'second only to the Holocaust' in its impact (Moores, 2017, p. 116).

The 1990s and the election of a democratic government in Chile brought in a new era for Chile, one which had corresponding effects on the diaspora in the UK and elsewhere. Most of these organisations closed down almost overnight, bringing a complete shift in the diaspora landscape for the people still living in the UK:

When the civilian government came to power in 1990, all the organisations disappeared in one fell swoop...in a period of one or two months. They all disappeared except La Cancha and except the human rights groups [those focused on judicial process and reparations rather than solidarity]...It was partly done because the Chilean government went to all the international organisations saying, 'you don't need this anymore because we are a democracy so why do you need a solidarity campaign?' So, all the grants, all the finances all stopped.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

As time passed, the human rights organisations collaborating internationally remained active, aiming to seek justice for those tortured and killed and seek reparations. Some exiles felt that the new government attempted to co-opt these organisations into working with them, but it was important to remain independent:

They wanted the human rights groups to align themselves with the government, saying the government's going to do the Rettig Report and the Valech Report and therefore you don't need human rights groups to continue. We disagreed with them because we said governments can never do a job like this. It will have to be the NGOs who keep an eye on them.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

What emerges from the exile accounts of the post-dictatorship period is a more fluid environment with an overlapping of groups and often shifting priorities. Reactivation of action has occurred several times at pivotal points such as the arrest of Pinochet in 1998 which brought out large numbers of people protesting in support of a trial (El Piquete de Londres), in support of student demonstrations in Chile between 2011-2013 and the 2019-2021 protests against inequality. These protests are frequently carried out in front of the Chilean Embassy in London to this day, the locus of both resistance and

remembrance, a space that carries great significance for the diaspora (Ramírez, 2014). A number of participants of El Piquete de Londres morphed loosely into Memoria Viva, a project to archive online available information about the regime victims, connected to the International Project of Human Rights in Chile (an NGO set up by Chilean exiles and human rights activists in London, now a global network). This then gave rise to Ecomemoria, set up in 2002, whose activities focus on planting trees in commemoration of the disappeared and victims of the regime.⁶

Several organisations carry on to the present day with the exile community comprising the main membership group. The Salvador Allende Cultural Centre was set up around the mid 1980s (connected to Praxis, a community centre in London) and organises political and cultural events. Casa Chilena, set up in the mid 1990s in response to the demise of organisations that had been active during the dictatorship years has different objectives and missions to the Salvador Allende Cultural Centre, however the membership is similar. Casa Chilena is a long-established organisation open to everyone with a cultural rather than political focus. In practice, membership seems largely made up of the exile community, their families and supporters. It is recognised by Chilean government representatives and members use the Consulate for their regular meetings. Many of those involved in the above two organisations also participate in El Sueño Existe. This is a left-wing loose collective of people which organises a biannual festival in Wales. The focus is on the life and music of Victor Jara and ideas of left-wing politics and solidarity. It was set up by an English man in the early 2000s, is closely supported by many Chileans and relates to other Latin American movements such as the populist movement of Venezuela. These three organisations continue the cultural, political and spiritual legacy of the original exile organisations. Attending their events with their mix of protest songs, folk dances, poems and continued emphasis on solidarity gives a tangible sense of how it must have been during the 1970s and 1980s. It is here that past and present seem to be co-located in the same moment.

⁶ For detailed analysis of Memoria Viva and Ecomemoria, see Ramírez 2014, Ramírez and Serpente 2012).

6.2 Organisations for All: New Horizons from the 1990s Onwards

Since the 1990s, a wealth of new organisations has emerged which cater to different types of people who have arrived in the UK. These diaspora organisations provide a variety of functions to the great diversity of Chileans in the UK today, whether it is personal or professional connection, practical advice about living in the UK, forums for learning about Chilean culture and heritage, the opportunity for '*carrete*' or going out Chilean style, or a space to celebrate the most Chilean of festivals, the 18th of September. With the advent of the widespread use of the internet and social media in the early 1990s, groups have been set up that have an exclusively web presence while others are mainly online with occasional face-to-face meet ups. Of all these groups, some are formally constituted but most are not. There are geographically based groups such as Chilenos en Cambridge and Chileans en Edimburgo who are mostly web based. These groups seem to be primarily made up of students although some members are also long-standing migrants and indeed exiles. Most of these groups function as a forum for asking questions and getting information on life in the UK prior to a move or whilst based here, for buying and selling things, finding accommodation and other issues. Some groups have a more targeted membership such as Mujeres y Mamas Chilenas en el UK which specifically aims to bring together Chilean women and mothers. The smaller size of this group compared to some others has allowed people to make friendships in 'real' life. The UK arm of the Instituto O'Higiniano is a group with limited appeal whose mission is to keep the name and work of Bernardo O'Higgins (the Chilean who freed Chile from rule by the Spanish) alive. Set up in London by an Embassy employee whose presence remains divisive due to his open allegiance to Pinochet, its membership seems to be mostly made up of people who are also members of the Anglo Chilean Society. A small number of exile focused organisations have remained active since the 1990s.

Compared to the central role that exile organisations played for the exile cohort in the 1970s and 1980s, these newer organisations tend to be less pivotal to peoples' lives.

Whilst the numbers and diverse types of organisations for a relatively small diaspora illustrate the ongoing levels of activism and organisational capability within the ranks of the diaspora, it is clear from the data that organisations are still important but not to the extent that they were in the dictatorship days. People are more inclined to dip in and out of their ranks as and when they want to. Some people develop interests in participating in the organisations that correspond to certain life changes such as marriage or having children or simply getting older. For some, getting involved in the organisations is a means of discovering or rediscovering their Chilean identity or a connection to others. From the data collected, it seems that there are relatively few people today who are consistently active in organisations throughout the whole of their time as diaspora members, with a few exceptions as will be explored below.

Two of the most significant initiatives set up in the last decade are Chilenos en el UK and Comunidad Chile. Both of these organisations share certain similarities in that they set out to appeal to a wide range of Chileans and that they aim to circumvent people's differences. Both are supported by the Chilean Consulate and are seen as important points of reference amongst the Chileans in the UK in the present day. Chilenos en el UK is a longstanding Facebook group with a previous incarnation as a website. It was set up by Manuel in 2006, initially as a means of sharing details about his life in London with friends back in Chile, but gradually began to grow bigger as he was asked for advice about moving to the UK by friends of friends and others. As Manuel recalled:

At that time there was nothing, not one site about Chileans in England, no information, nothing. The only website was the Consulate website. I started my own [website] and started to put up some stories about me and pictures and it started developing into something different. I remember that first weekend. I said, well let's meet in a pub in Ealing Broadway. I thought there would be about 10 people but there were 50. And everyone was saying, 'this is the first time we're having a Chilean meeting in London, apart from the other associations which are very political or the Consulate'.

Manuel (Male, 46, arrived 2004, married to British woman)

Chilenos en el UK is one of the largest Facebook groups in the UK with 8700 members at present and it holds a couple of events every year. These events are today generally the best attended of all the September 18th celebrations held in the UK (500 people were present at the 2014 event) with a very diverse mix of people. The organisation deliberately avoids politics and anything with a political standpoint, as Manuel made clear:

I wanted to make a group without a political view. I don't want anybody to tell us, 'you are from the right side or the left side, or the centre or whatever. Let's do that and that's going to be the way'. And everyone was like, 'yeah, yeah why not'. Because Chileans are always about politics. The only colours are going to be white, blue and red. The Chilean flag. And everybody was happy. And then we started.

Manuel (Male, 46, arrived 2004, married to British woman)

In practice, this stance has proved difficult to enforce and there are frequent issues with members bringing up politics or political history. Many people feel that important dates like September 11th (the anniversary of the coup in 1973) need to be remembered and commemorated and that to ignore this does a disservice to those who suffered. This is an ongoing source of friction as Chilenos en el UK deliberately does not commemorate this date. The organisation remains strongly independent and does not seek funding from the Chilean government or other sources. It has served as a news resource, a generator and coordinator of funds for specific campaigns, for instance after the Valparaíso fire in 2014 which left 11,000 people homeless and the devastating earthquake in May 2010.

Comunidad Chile was a newer initiative run by a young team of Chileans married to British people which folded in 2016 due to lack of time from the organisers to commit to its ongoing management. It originally emerged in the early 2010s out of a dispute

between members of Group Del Sur, a Chilean folklore group set up in 2007. Grupo Del Sur was fundamental in sparking a resurgence of interest in learning and promoting traditional Chilean dance amongst the Chileans in the UK. For some members of this group, it was a means of exploring and rediscovering their Chilean identity. In the aftermath of the dispute (about management of the group), several members broke away and decided to start their own organisation. This became Comunidad Chile which had an informative website and held different social and cultural events. The focus was on bringing the community together and being an information resource. They were supported by the Consulate financially and also sought funds from other sources. One of the founders, Javier explains the motivation for starting it:

Many Chileans were looking for something else apart from just getting together to have fun, parties or in the park to have a picnic. Also, we really thought that there was a need for having more information, following steps to settle down here, getting the community together with other Chileans as well to like, create new networks.

Javier (Male, 34, journalist, arrived 2006, married to British man)

Comunidad Chile also set up their own dance group, Vidance, which performed at Chilean and other events. Several people who were deeply involved in this organisation from its origins mentioned how it served as a bridge between people from different political and class backgrounds. It seems to have provided an enabling environment for a dialogue between different generations and different politics and in some cases, has allowed a certain understanding to develop. As Stef reported:

They have quite interesting visions and the work they're doing is very new because it's opening up to a new group of Chileans. I met two people who are from these two organisations with this vision of creating bridges and uniting the new generations and opening up for other people that not just came here in the 70s but are coming here now, and they've been organising events. I don't know if you've seen the website of Comunidad

Chile. So, there's a lot of information there. They work really hard on informing people, and they receive lots of emails from Chile even, asking 'how do we arrive in London, what's the best thing to do?' And they do all this voluntarily, they are working really hard to create a community.

Stef (Female, 38, psychologist, daughter of Chilean exiles moved to Norway aged 7 in the 1980s, now moved to Britain to study and work)

Cultural organisations amongst the diaspora play a dual role in allowing members to connect with their heritage and Chilean identity, especially important for some second or third generation Chileans, and in sharing that heritage more widely. For this group, organisations seem to play a more positive role in the remembering or creation of 'home' without the difficulties seen amongst the exile group caused by their focus on torture and atrocities reminding people of trauma suffered. On the matter of enabling connection with one's heritage, Grupo del Sur was one of the first Chilean organisations that saw the value of promoting Chilean culture not through the lens of solidarity, but in its own right. Set up in 2005 by Rodrigo, a relatively recent arrival who had been in a long-term relationship with a British woman in Geneva, this group became a pivotal feature of the Chilean scene in London in subsequent years. Participants stressed that more than merely an opportunity to dance (though for some that was the key draw), it provided the means of getting closer to Chilean culture and connecting with others, a way of keeping alive traditions that are being lost. It was described as a 'desire to feel Chilean from dancing' and over the years, Grupo del Sur has given many performances and workshops at Chilean events and others across London. Other cultural drama and music events by groups such as Musiko Musika, Quimantu World Music Ensemble, Movimiento Cultural Amigo Artista and pubs in Camberwell and North London run by Chileans have formed part of an emerging rich cultural life in the years since the diaspora started becoming more diverse.

Another key feature of this newer aspect of diaspora organisational life has been the opportunity to promote Chilean culture and life externally. Whereas, during the time of the dictatorship, dance and art forms like *cueca* and *arpilleras* were used by

the diaspora primarily either as acts of resistance and solidarity or as tools of fundraising and activism (Kay, 1987; Shayne, 2009), since the 1990s, cultural forms of Chilean life have been themselves the central focus of much diaspora activity. Many people shared the view that they wanted *'to show what Chile has to offer in terms of culture, dance and food, everything, to the rest of the world and to other Latin Americans as well'* as Rodrigo said (Male, 47, dancer and teacher, arrived 2004, married to British woman).

Diasporans expressed pride in their culture and wanted to share it with others. This reflects the notion of a 'new' Chile, leaving behind the past conflicted legacy and looking to a positive future. This is of course a contested notion, one that will be explored further in subsequent chapters, however here in relation to the appearance of groups that celebrate Chilean culture, it takes centre stage. In a similar vein to the ethos of Chilenos en el UK, most of these groups largely seek to bypass the issue of politics. Many people in these groups mentioned other people being *'stuck on this issue, always on the same thing'* as Rodrigo said, even if they were sympathetic personally and politically to the exile cause. Attempts to sidestep politics were often unsuccessful. It has proved impossible to completely avoid the topic as it comes up as a frequent topic of conversation in many interactions, whether political or not.

Earlier, I mentioned that there were fewer people in the loose cohort of arrivals post- 1990 who are consistently active throughout their lives in these organisations, but there are a few exceptions such as Rodrigo, Manuel and most notably Daniel. Daniel, who is in his fifties, has led a fascinating life, a dynamic and confident person whose interests are multiple and diverse. Unlike some of the interviewees who tended to focus their attention on one particular area of interest within the diaspora, for instance fellow students, the arts or human rights issues, Daniel had connections within many areas of the diaspora and also outside it. He was unashamedly forthright about his many achievements yet possessed a humble quality that negated any sense of arrogance that might otherwise have been a factor in telling his story. Devoutly religious as a young man and still today, he had met his future English wife while they were both carrying out

missionary work in Chile in 1982. Their decision to move to the UK after marrying aged only 21, came about partly due to there being more work opportunities for Daniel, though it was also influenced by his wife's uneasiness about bringing up a family under the military dictatorship. Thirty years in the UK bringing up their family of seven children and running a number of businesses have brought them financial success and stability, as well as recognition in many Chilean circles including the upper echelon, who are not generally so welcoming to those from outside their ranks.

As a couple, Daniel and his wife have been active in supporting Chile and diaspora members since the beginning of their time in the UK, even before they themselves were established and had a viable business. He was skilful at identifying both opportunities and needs and quickly developed a reputation as someone a fellow Chilean could go to for assistance. From informal loans given to people with a small business idea or prospective students without the means to pursue further study, he has helped people in many different ways. In his own way, he has targeted particular Chilean development needs in a very personal manner. The various development projects were formalised with the establishment of the Elisa Educational Trust, a charity that supports Chilean students in Chile of all kinds to pursue different types of courses, sometimes university degrees but also others. The Trust is supported by means of an annual donation from their company. He has also set up a charity that sends Gap Year students to work in a special school in Chile that he has connections with. Over the years, Daniel has developed personal links with other organisations in Chile such as the Red Cross that he believes can benefit from direct support. An active philanthropist, he told me that he is active with many charities, not only Chilean and Latin American ones, and has been able to persuade business contacts or contacts within the Anglo Chilean Society to provide funds for many different projects. This example shows that there are active attempts to support development *in* the diaspora *by* the diaspora but they are often limited to the efforts of a few key individuals, rather than a broad-based diaspora effort.

6.3 Student Organisations: Sites of Ambition and Networking

There are only a small number of student specific organisations to support this cohort in comparison with the organisations that cater to other elements of the diaspora and as stated previously, most of these take the form of UK university-based Chilean societies such as the UCL Chilean Society or the Cambridge University Chilean Society.

Students make significant use of the other types of organisations discussed in previous sections, attending social events, seeking information and also sometimes participating in the exile focused ones, usually through personal introductions. There are two interesting student-run networks which merit further investigation due to their developmental focus and dynamism: ChileGlobal and REUK.

ChileGlobal in the UK is part of the larger ChileGlobal network, set up in 2005, (a state-led elite diaspora programme) based in Chile which emerged from the World Bank's Knowledge for Development programme (Pollack, 2013). The UK manifestation of ChileGlobal largely focuses on the student population, following the agreement in 2012 between the leadership of ChileGlobal and Becas Chile to collaborate. In his study of the whole network, Malecki found that some participants were able to re-define the narrow parameters of the top-down framework and used it instead to address their concerns about the increasing commodification of tertiary education (Malecki, 2017). In the UK, the network is run by postgraduate students who organise seminars and presentations as a means for Chilean students and professionals in the UK to connect and collaborate. Five percent of their funding comes from ChileGlobal and the other ninety-five percent from the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Ministry of External Relations), from a fund called Proyectos Acciones Específicas, given to particular projects that promote knowledge or the image of Chile abroad. ChileGlobal use these funds to run seminar events (mainly in London) with a social gathering afterwards, paying for travel for students who have to come from other parts of the UK to attend. They have relationships with the Chilean students at universities with a larger Chilean student population such as Manchester, UCL and LSE and are trying to develop links with the smaller ones also. Sara, a postgraduate student, stated of ChileGlobal:

Our goal is trying to unify Chileans who are studying and professionals who are doing qualified jobs, for all of them to have an opportunity to meet and to have a professional network.

Sara (Female, 34, Masters and PhD student, arrived in UK in 2013)

Supporting Malecki's (2017) findings that some diaspora members were not keen to work within a network that emanated from the state and was publicly funded, the data gathered here from the UK-based students revealed that this reluctance was part of the motivation to create the Red de Investigadores y Estudiantes en el Reino Unido (REUK), an alternative explicitly transnational network of Chilean students and researchers in the UK. This differs from the ChileGlobal network in that it was set up in the UK by some postgraduate students, with the aim of bringing together all the Chilean student societies in the UK to link and coordinate. However, quite differently to Malecki, who categorises REUK as a ChileGlobal affiliated network, the two leaders of both networks who I interviewed in 2014 described them as separate entities. The leader of REUK was in the process of formally constituting the network with its own statutes which could partly explain this discrepancy. Malecki also noted that one of the people he interviewed 'was adamant to position the British network as distinct from ChileGlobal' (Malecki, 2017, p. 145). In addition, my interviews revealed that there is considerable distrust between the two networks for several reasons. As Fernando, a member of REUK, argued:

The people involved in ChileGlobal, they were the first group that wanted to organise the students across the universities, to do specific events – seminars in different disciplines and subjects. So, once they were already organising seminars, we organised this other network, which is a more political one. It's not about events, it's not about seminars. It's about organising the people and linking people with the government and other organisations here in the UK. It's more political in that sense. They didn't like it.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

Fernando points to ChileGlobal's dependance on funding from their parent network as indicative of their lack of autonomy and ability to pursue the agenda of the members. He is concerned about the difficulties of getting their voices heard alongside those of the students involved with ChileGlobal, who are perceived as representing all of the UK-based Chilean students:

The thing that's been a bit misleading, the Chilean authorities, every time they come here (the executive authority and Becas Chile), they have invited ChileGlobal to the meetings, so it's like people in Chile think 'they' ARE the Chilean students in the UK.

From the ChileGlobal perspective, they also have concerns about REUK and their ways of working. Sara believes that it is ChileGlobal and not REUK who has a legitimate mandate to represent the students. She mentioned that REUK asked them not to share data or information about their activities with the ChileGlobal parent network in Chile. She continued:

I had a real argument with them because they didn't ask anybody and they assume they are on top of the rest, representing everyone. They have secret meetings with no reports at all. They were taking decisions in the name of other people. They gave wrong information to the press because they said that they were representing us, which is very serious. So ok, do your business apart from us, because what we are doing is more professional.

Sara (Female, 34, Masters and PhD student, arrived in UK in 2013)

One project REUK plans to get off the ground is to share knowledge about students studying specific topics to enable more collaboration both in the UK and on returning to Chile, as Fernando detailed:

The main aim of the network is to work with Chilean researchers in the UK, to make a link with all these people, and with ex-students in Chile also. There are a lot of students, they have to go back because they were on a scholarship. So, it's a big group of people. We have estimated it might be a thousand here in the UK.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

It is clear that the Chilean student-generated networks here are taking ownership of their own potential to contribute to academic diaspora networks. The literature provides many examples of such knowledge sharing networks which are frequently run through state-led initiatives, like the extensive range of programmes developed by the People's Republic of China which include financial incentives, status symbols, awards, conferences and networks reflecting the ever-growing interest in capturing the benefits of knowledge exchange without return migration (Biao, 2006). Within the growing literature on student migration, attention is increasingly being paid to international researchers and their positioning as global knowledge brokers. They are recognised as 'academic intermediaries for new knowledge configurations' (Larner, 2015, p. 198). Whilst these globalising discourses of academic knowledge transfer from a university or state perspective are more and more common, very little is being contributed regarding how students themselves organise this or participate within it. The Chilean student-led organisations add a new dimension to this, a necessary addition to Larner's point that a focus on diasporic academics is not merely about top-down agendas (Larner, 2015, p. 204) or concerns around 'brain power stored overseas' (Yang, 2011, p. 154).

Compared to the organisations that cater to other types of UK-based Chileans, the number of student-focused organisations is small. However, for their members, they perform several essential functions. Students from the Chilean elite are less interested in UK student organisations as they already have their own well-connected set who provide all the necessary introductions and inroads to the professional world. For middle- or working-class Chileans however, the organisations that connect them to other Chilean students, whether university-based or with wider membership, bring both

personal and professional benefits. As suggested by Fernando's comment in Chapter Five about joining the elite, the possibility to join these organisations as part of a privileged group of students who have been earmarked and funded to study abroad, is a stepping-stone to opportunities in the professional world that previously were easier to access if you were born with connections. ChileGlobal and REUK are both creating spaces for their members to climb higher and fulfil their potential. Thus, they are promoting the self-development of the student cohort and therefore contributing to the development of Chile's human capital. The wider developmental aspects of the student organisations will be explored further in Chapter Nine.

6.4 Conclusion

This Chapter has explored the organisational life of the Chilean diaspora, from its original members, the cohort of exiles, through to other hitherto neglected parts of the diaspora that exists today. It has drawn attention to dimensions of the exile cohort's organisational life that have been largely overlooked, particularly the troubling experience of reliving past pain and the creation of times and spaces which form a link to former lives back 'home'. It is clear that organisations played a pivotal role amongst the Chilean diaspora of the 1970s and 1980s. At a time of great uncertainty and instability at the beginning of new lives of exile, they provided an essential bedrock of contact, support and vital networking. They were a response to a unique situation at a particular point in time and space, and therefore a creation of diasporic space. However, as time and those needs have moved on, many things have changed in terms of the organisations themselves, the needs they respond to and the role they play in people's lives.

The small number of remaining solidarity and human rights-based organisations from the early days of great activity no longer command the great numbers and interest they once did. For their core members, they still provide an important function - the ability to recreate in those spaces the feelings and memories of the days where collaboration and focus on the issues back 'home' was everything and, for many, all they had. Being at

one of these organisations' events conjures up the past and the glory days of those groups and the concrete things that they achieved. It has a sense of the 'commemorative atmospheres' (Sumartojo, 2016) about it and the feeling that such networks and their values need to be maintained out of some fear of a return of repression in Chile. Recent events seem to suggest that such fears are well-placed. In spite of the very real and painful issues that the exiles confronted, there was a palpable sense of the pride in the vitality and work that they were a part of. Their contributions mattered. These events provide a path through nostalgia back to a time where, though uprooted from their 'home' and their extended families, they were able to find some purpose and belonging in a life of exile.

The organisational life that has emerged in the period since the 1990s has widened the scope of interest, reflecting the other cohorts present in the UK-based diaspora. These organisations cater for the much greater diversity of the diaspora in this time period and reflect the changing nature of the diaspora to one that comprises people from a wider range of backgrounds and political dispositions. The centrality of these organisations to individual lives is debatable, unlike in the exile years, where the organisations were often the focal point of attention and support. Since the dawn of the 1990s, organisations play a very different function and as such, move in and out of people's lives as needed. Interest-based groups that connect on a platform of shared identities such as motherhood or at least loose desires to assist fellow Chileans and share experiences are the majority of those set up. As a function of this greater diversity, activities are multiple and numerous. Chilean student organisations provide social interaction and a means to meet other Chilean students, with the exceptions of ChileGlobal and REUK. These two networks are significant in terms of the interest they hold for the Chilean state, but also for the students for whom these provide access to connections and opportunities for their personal and professional futures.

The next chapter will explore in depth the interactions between different parts of the diaspora, their differences and the source of these. Points of contention and division that have emerged and persist in sowing discord will be identified, explored and the

causes discussed to understand the issues that underpin relationships within the diaspora. The individual experiences and collective group experiences lead to interactions *between* the three main groups which adds yet another dimension or layer of experience. Varying levels of interaction between the cohorts and their organisations have taken place over the years, but in all cases reflect the complex and shifting landscape of allegiances over time and have generally come with a significant dose of rivalry and suspicion. It remains to be seen whether the recently set up organisations will be more successful in their aims of bringing the wider Chilean diaspora together.

Chapter Seven

Divisive Interactions: Discord and Enmity within a Diverse Diaspora

The previous chapter showed how the cohorts of the Chilean diaspora have set up many different types of organisations over five decades. This demonstrates the importance of taking an extended temporal view of the life of a diaspora to reveal how socio-economic and political change in the country of origin has direct effects on individuals and the diaspora as a whole. The organisations discussed have provided a diverse range of functions for their members over many years, and many organisations have served as intermediaries between different parts of the diaspora with differing outcomes. It is essential to examine the interactions between the different groups within the diaspora, largely but not always conducted through their organisations, and to assess what these interactions tell us about the experience of being Chilean in the UK diaspora. These interactions between different parts of the diaspora and in different spaces demonstrate the legacy of the past and political contestation in different time periods within diaspora life.

Here, I address the second research sub question, considering ‘how has the process of leaving Chile and the history of political contestation framed the experience of being in diaspora?’ I will look first at the tensions exhibited in many accounts of interactions between different types of Chileans showing the effects of the evolution of this diaspora from its political origins into something encompassing a wider variety of people. Following this, delving deeper, I will tease out the causes that underpin many of these surface issues. We will see how the legacies of political contestation and deliberate acts of silencing which have prevailed to the present day reverberate through the diaspora and affect the ways that people relate to each other. I will show how these affairs of the past that exist and shape the present are seen explicitly in diaspora. The aftermath of these acts creates the platform with which the diaspora has performed those activities and practices which are often developmental and political in nature as we will see in Chapters Eight and Nine.

7.1: Surface Tensions: Interactions and Divisions

7.1.1 Different Cohorts Together

If you get three Chilean refugees together, within 10 minutes they're going to be talking about the coup d'etat. The other Chileans wouldn't.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

We are very passionate in what we believe, and we are very divided in our political views. I have nothing but admiration for people that are still trying to find justice and ...yes, you should never give up! You should never give up!

Pablo (Male, 38, musician, arrived 1995, married to British woman)

They're loud, they're rude, they drink a lot. Why would I go there? I just don't like it. And they don't like me either, which is fair enough.

Fabiana (Female, 35, psychologist and businesswoman, arrived 2008, married to British man)

These three comments illustrate great diversity amongst the Chileans in diaspora regarding how people think about each other. Juan reveals the ongoing importance of the coup d'état within the exile cohort, providing a common persistent thread even now fifty years later. Fabiana's comment brings out the class dimension when referring to other groups of Chileans that she sees as lower class, disclosing her feeling of superiority. She dislikes their behaviour and does not wish to be associated with them through the social events in diaspora life, whilst recognising that they feel the same about her. As Carter argues, much of the diaspora literature does not properly acknowledge that diasporas often 'reproduce the essentialized notions of place and identity that they are supposed to transgress' (Carter, 2005, p. 54). In fact, the literature frequently carries the implicit assumption that the combination of living diasporically and

participating in organisations will have an effect on 'home' country norms of behaviour and identity (Carter, 2005). This research adds to the small body of work which has shown that life in diaspora can cause positions and identities to become even more firmly entrenched as opposed to altered by life in another country (Lampert 2009; Mohan, 2006).

Like any heterogeneous collective of people, the Chilean diaspora is prone to significant divisions and rivalries between members and organisations. Division within the UK-based Chileans can be understood in various ways. The clearest and most visible of these is the gap between the exiles and the rest of the Chilean migrants. There is also a less obvious division between the loose collective of those who arrived for varied reasons and the students. Students who come here with a distinct purpose and finite period of stay have a different approach to those Chileans who come on their own for reasons outlined previously. These divisions can be broadly categorised as being due to the reason for migrating and a shared common experience that binds some people together and therefore separates them from others. Other smaller scale divisions that exist are based on social background and upbringing, which reflect and to a great extent replicate the fairly rigid structures that still dominate in Chile today.

In analysing those who have moved in and out of the UK-based diaspora over the last fifty years, it is apparent that the sense of division between the exiles and the others is a phenomenon observed more starkly in the UK than in Chile today. The exile community form a tightly knit group who have maintained their identity over many years. They are the longest-standing members of the UK-based diaspora and as such, they share a bond of time as well as experience. Research on Bolivians in London has shown the significant gap between the first migrants and subsequent waves of migration that causes division within the population (Pall Sveinsson, 2007). To other Chileans outside the exile group, the exiles are a distinct collective who have undergone a very particular, traumatic set of circumstances which defines them and identifies them as having leftist political ideologies. Set apart from the others, with their particular history and circumstances which prevail through to the present, they remain isolated from the other

groups in the majority of cases. This is despite having lost many of their original membership through return to Chile or death claiming some of their number. Divisions also exist within the exile group itself, stemming from political, ideological and class differences. Geography also played a part in causing division, through the dispersal of exiles in different areas of the UK depending on availability of housing and the support of local councils.

I realised in my early teens, that the Chilean community was actually very separate, very divided. I guess I wasn't aware of that. I just thought every Chilean I was meeting was...well, all the same...all affected by the same circumstances, but I didn't realise that the Communists wouldn't hang out with the Socialists or the Miristas or other groups. That came as bit of a shock to some of us, because we thought, come on, we're a small enough group as it is, so the thought of there being some kind of separation between us was really absurd, you know?

Hector (Male, 42, exile, arrived 1975 aged 1, returned to live in Chile)

The data showed that whilst these divisions were intense during the early years, these have softened over the passage of time and in the much smaller pool of exiles remaining in the UK today, these are not nearly as important as they once were. People often remain personally fiercely committed to the ideals of their political party but in practice they socialise and engage in mixed arenas (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020). Although often divided by allegiance to different political parties and their origins, their identity as Chilean exiles in the UK serves today as a greater bond than that which separated them in times of high political activism.

The perception of many respondents was that in Chile, where everyday life has moved on and to a certain extent subsumed ongoing concerns over crimes during the dictatorship, it has become easier to overlook the differences between those who were on different sides. For many, awareness of their history does not inform daily life and frame their overall experience, as Yasmin comments:

It's so strange for me because in Chile, the problem is not solved but it doesn't have the same importance as it does to the people who live here. Yes, I understand because when people live abroad, it's the only memory they have, the life they lived there, and they don't have the option to come back. And it's really sad, you know?

Yasmin (Female, 52, cleaner, arrived 2000, came to join her brother)

This perspective, common to many people interviewed, shows that the continued focus on past events can be quite startling, pinpointing a key difference between life today in Chile and life in diaspora. In the UK, where the diaspora is an uneven microcosm of Chilean society, the exiles and their families form a disproportionately large percentage of Chileans here. As the long-standing founding members of the diaspora, the effect of their ongoing presence is to lay bare in the UK that which in Chile has long been blurred by the ebb and flow of life, daily concerns, political change and time. The concept of 'golden exile', a deliberate attempt by the military regime to discredit exiles portraying them as enjoying a pleasurable lifestyle overseas, to counter their narratives of torture and abuse (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007), is still effective to this day. A number of interviewees unconnected to the exiles had bought into this propaganda and cited this concept as a factor in their view of the exiles. The sharply defined exile experience can be seen in clear relief almost untouched by the passage of time. The ongoing pain of their situation is an uncomfortable reminder of a past that many would rather forget. Indeed, through the process of generational change and lack of education, many have forgotten and the confrontation with the past can be a shock. It is this that creates the basis for the biggest division within the diaspora.

The data gathered shows that while the exiles group themselves together, seeing themselves as separate and different to the other Chileans in the UK diaspora, the students also do the same. However, the rest of the Chileans who I have loosely grouped together as a cohort (those who arrived for varied reasons) do not necessarily see themselves as forming part of a coherent collective. Within this group, people are

more fragmented and come together on issues of common interest such as the Facebook group called Mujeres y Mamas en el UK, set up as a means for Chilean women to connect and provide mutual support. This has achieved its aims to a great extent and due to regular real world meet ups, has provided the mechanism for forging deep and genuine friendships like that between three women who I interviewed together, Natalia, Ana, and Patricia.

With this group of women, I don't know if it's a gender thing, there's been so much solidarity. One of the girls in York is saying, 'I'm alone in the house, my daughter has a temperature, what do I do?' and then there's 50 comments offering help, offering to go help her, it's amazing, amazing! I don't see that in the other groups. Yeah, they get together for the 18th, there's a party, carrete, but I don't see that support.

Natalia (Female, 45, housewife, married to British man)

However, whilst they recognised and appreciated the facilitating qualities of the group, they agreed that like the bigger Chilenos en el UK group that they all disliked, this group contained the same divisions that existed elsewhere in diaspora and in Chile itself.

It's very mixed and there's different backgrounds, politics etc....sometimes you think, I don't really want to have this. I wouldn't have it in Chile, I don't want to have it here either. Some of the girls are really needy.

Ana (Female, 43, anaesthetist, arrived 2014, married to British man, now returned to live in Chile)

The students see themselves as a diverse group, but one with a sense of elitism by dint of most having been selected for the scholarship programmes. For most of them, having accessed university level education already puts them in a bracket well above the general population. Without exception, they all referred repeatedly to the opportunity that education in the UK had given them as providing significant personal and professional advancement. The acquisition of cultural capital through gaining a

'Western' university degree is a significant driver in international student mobility (Waters, 2006, p. 180). With this advancement came a sense of responsibility for the future of Chile, seen as manifesting through their future work in Chile, that will contribute to a developed and more equal society. Inequality was mentioned as a major problem needing to be tackled by all the students. This is an interesting and curious perspective given that the range of students interviewed came from a wide variety of backgrounds, some of whom are from the wealthiest families in Chile mostly right-wing. This reveals two important factors borne out throughout the data. First, Chilean state scholarship programmes have been successful in instilling this notion of contribution and giving back in students. Second, there has been a shift amongst this generation and cohort that recognises that Chilean society and its economy has followed a development path resulting in particular inequalities that need to be addressed, regardless of one's affiliation to party politics. Attempting to lessen these inequalities through a different approach is widely recognised as necessary. A number of other cohort members interviewed advocate that to do this effectively, a full and open process of truth and justice must be the starting point, potentially a more divisive approach.

Fundamental to the overall lack of diaspora cohesion are the exiles and the varied ways they are perceived by other Chileans. Many people are sympathetic to various degrees, often this relates to personal experience of someone directly affected by the vicious aspects of the dictatorship. A sense of frustration also came through strongly among many of the newer members of the diaspora who felt that the politics of the past should be left in the past. The comments below show the range of different views on this cohort, clearly visible within the diaspora.

They are really bitter and really focused on political issues....and that's what I mean. If you haven't been living in Chile, how can you be still so focused on these?

Natalia (Female, 45, housewife, arrived 2007, married to British man)

It's what happens to those families afterwards, so it's not just those people who have been killed, it's the families of those people - they have to carry that for the rest of their lives. They can't just say 'oh, that was just in the past, I'll get on with it'. It's not that easy.

Flaminia (Female, self-employed, 55, arrived 1982)

Because it didn't affect me, selfishly I admit that I've moved on and I try to be compassionate with the ones who are still suffering and learn from it really. I don't think it's my doing to change things or make sure that the generations to come still remember what happened. Probably because it didn't affect me directly.

Fabiana (Female, 35, psychologist and businesswoman, arrived 2008, married to British man)

These comments and the previous analysis points to the identification of a thread that runs powerfully throughout this analysis of the diaspora; the legacy of political contestation and its continued and constant impact on group dynamics and actions. For some of the exile group, time is felt as if 'one aspect of their lives is stasis, a suspension of time whilst the world around them continues forward' (Griffiths et al., 2014, p. 13). This different experience of time within diaspora is one of many temporal aspects of migration at play here. The temporal dissonance so evident within the Chilean diaspora is hardly raised in the literature at all, only briefly mentioned by Cwerner in his assessment of the relationship between time, culture and migration as discussed by Elchardus et al. (1987). One of the factors identified as influencing the relationship between time and cultural identity is that 'the migrants' temporal aspects of action become important elements of the assertion of their cultural and social identities. Those differences, often leading to situations of confrontation, are accentuated in contexts of immigration' (Cwerner, 2001, p. 12). From the evidence gathered from the Chilean case, we can move further into new territory, showing that the divergence of temporalities here are within and between different members of diaspora, not only external to it. This points to the temporalities within diasporic formations and how these

alter as does the sending state situation. The times of politics and divisions in Chile are not synchronous with those of the diaspora and things linger here differently from at 'home'.

This legacy of past political contestation thus drives much of the interaction between the cohorts. It is seen waxing and waning on a cyclical basis every year in the build-up to the September commemorations on the 11th and National celebrations on the 18th. As we move forward and reveal other types of division, this legacy is one that permeates and shapes all the others. As such a strong influence on and within cohorts, we will see in due course how this legacy has affected organisational activities and ethos over time, acted on the dynamics of identity and attitudes to 'home', determined the way that development is viewed, discussed and acted on amongst the diaspora and how, amongst diaspora itself, it is arguably more evident and in sharp focus than in the Chile of today.

7.1.2 Questions of Class

As well as this key division outlined above which cleaves the diaspora into distinct parts, as research on other diasporas has demonstrated, divisions of class and background that exist at 'home' are also seen in diaspora and can often be magnified (Lampert, 2009, 2012; Pall Sveinsson, 2006). UK-based Chileans follow a similar pattern whereby the distinct class system that persists in Chile also manifests within the diaspora. Chapter Five discussed these aspects of class and race within Chilean society that play into diaspora life in comparable ways and provide the basis for many sources of division seen within cohorts. Although as mentioned before, several of the organisations set up have sought to provide a welcoming place for all Chileans, the experience in reality has not reflected of this approach.

I've been to parties and been victim of a backlash because I lived in a certain part of Santiago and nobody really cares about interacting with me very much. They're not fully wrong because I feel the same about them.

Fabiana (Female, 35, psychologist and businesswoman, arrived 2008, married to British man)

I don't want to sound prejudiced because that's not who I am at all, but the level was very low, very hard to talk or relate on any point. For example, when I told them I was here with my husband, they said in Spanish, 'como te lo agarraste', how did you trap him basically or what did you do to make him marry you. It was very intimidating you know, I mean I'm in love! It's like I was from another planet. I didn't want to be around them any more. If you think that everything is an opportunity, then everything you do comes down to money or opportunities.

Evelyn (Female, 42, journalist, arrived 2000, married to British man)

Fabiana's comment relates to her experience as a well-educated woman brought up by her working-class parents to aspire to more. They worked hard to send her to private school and lived on the edge of the affluent suburbs of Las Condes. Fabiana sees herself as having been raised into the middle-class by virtue of her education and prefers not to openly acknowledge her origins, something that is perhaps easier to hide in diaspora. Like Evelyn, living in diaspora for Fabiana has meant being confronted by people that both would ordinarily avoid in Chile. This is indicative of a common theme that emerged in the interviews with many people in agreement that nationality is far from sufficient to provide common ground or impetus to form actual friendships. However, the large numbers of people present in the many groups and organisations indicate there is a genuine desire to assist other Chileans with information, and to seek out those with shared interests. The students from wealthy backgrounds have re-created their social circles in Chile in their new UK environment through contacts, avoiding the student Chilean societies that have a wider membership pool. The data shows that overall people tend to group in similar ways and with similar people to those that they would have done back in Chile.

I would say we replicate the same thing here...there are maybe some exceptions but in general we replicate the same thing.

Luis (Male, 26, arrived 2013, Masters student)

I remember talking to some people and they were all talking about 'las empresas del papí' (Daddy's businesses), asking what my surname was and what business my parents were doing here. I told my story and then they didn't want to talk to me any more. So, there was this big division that I'd already grown up with, that I'd internalised.

Stef (Female, 38, psychologist, daughter of Chilean exiles moved to Norway aged 7 in the 1980s, now moved to Britain to study and work)

Luis and Stef's comments illustrate the strict Chilean class structure still at work today within the diaspora. As discussed earlier, while categories are not as straightforward as the upper classes equating to right-wing and lower classes to left-wing, this was the tendency overall. Brought up in very different circumstances to the wealthy Chileans in her tale, Stef's admission that she was the daughter of left-wing exiles would have been an immediate red flag to those from rich and therefore likely to be right-wing families. This division which Stef and the people in question would all have been acutely aware of is one of class and also political background. This comment clearly shows the transferral of the distinctive Chilean class structure to life in diaspora and the impact of this on lives far removed from their origins.

7.1.3 Rivalries and Jealousies

Within the sphere of organised activity, numerous instances of divisions and rivalries over the years were revealed in the interviews. Whilst these are frequently based on political views which will be discussed more later, they also stem from other issues. Different organisations compete in terms of audience and resources, attempting to gain people's attention and money to support different initiatives. This has in some cases caused tension and explicit arguments between different groups. The student

organisations REUK and ChileGlobal have found themselves at odds in the past despite their common goals and similar, in fact often overlapping, membership. This situation stems from disagreements between the leadership of these organisations over who has a mandate to represent the UK-based students and the giving of student data over to the headquarters of ChileGlobal in Chile. Differences of opinion in how things should be run have also led to the breakup of groups like Group del Sur and the set-up of a rival entity like Vidance. These differences related to disagreements over whether their participation at events should be voluntary or compensated, reflecting the differences in motivations of the participants; those who saw group performances as benefiting from their professional dance training and therefore wanted recognition of their skills, and those for whom it was more of a hobby and an opportunity to feel connected to Chile. Organisations have sometimes been forced to reinvent themselves, reframing their objectives in step with changing values and memberships, such as the Chilean women's poetry group of the 1990s which morphed into the Taller de Memoria de Mujeres Hispanoamericanas. The Taller has become more open in terms of members from other countries and other agendas around the subject of memory as opposed to focusing exclusively on memories of the dictatorship.

Several people interviewed separately mentioned an episode during Michele Bachelet's first term as President around 2006. The new Consul invited all the main Chilean groups of the time to a meeting. This included the Anglo Chilean Society, Grupo del Sur, Chilenos en el UK, Casa Chilena and several others. Some members of the newer groups mentioned that all the established groups like Casa Chilena and Anglo Chilean society spent much of the meeting talking about what they do and there was virtually no time for new groups to speak.

The meeting was at the Embassy...all the heads of the organisations sat together, the Ambassador and the Consul. The idea of the meeting was to get together, know each other and say we want to make one big Chilean party. We had about an hour of his time because he's always a busy guy. And the Ambassador made a big mistake. He said, 'I want you to introduce

yourself' but he never said, 'take one minute.' Seriously, it was half of the table and the Ambassador had to go. He said, 'sorry, I have another meeting' and half of the table, all of the presentations, all the introducing themselves didn't happen. It was just a political view and the history and I was thinking, no!!! It was a disaster. They finished the meeting and I said to the Consul, 'you see what happened? How are we going to do it?'

Manuel (Male, 46, arrived 2004, married to British woman)

This episode was mentioned as being indicative of the uncollaborative attitude of the older, mainly exile based organisations. Several of the newer arrivals, keen to set up new organisations and to get buy-in from the established groups, have not found them particularly welcoming to newcomers. A number of approaches have been made over the years to collaborate between groups especially regarding the key event of the year for everyone, the 18th of September independence celebrations, but without success. Many of the interviewees viewed the exile groups as closed off and unwilling to integrate with the others. Rodrigo had come to London full of enthusiasm for getting involved with the local Chilean scene and contributing his skills as a dance teacher to their organisations, writing to them all before arriving. He found a distinct lack of welcome for his efforts and felt that what he had to offer was not valued. He was eventually asked to contribute to an 18th September event having persisted with his offers of help.

But I had to pay for my ticket for which wasn't cheap, just arriving in London, no permanent work. I did this and I never even got a thank you and I was expected to stay until the end which I wasn't going to do. So, my first experience with them wasn't very nice.

Rodrigo (Male, 47, dancer and teacher, arrived 2004, married to British woman)

The delicate question of relationships with the Chilean State and their official representatives in the UK has been an ongoing source of friction during different time

periods and is relevant here as an additional source of diaspora division. I was told Anglo Chilean Society has had an office at the Embassy for many years and the address given on the former's website is the same as the latter. They are perceived as the very epitome of the Chilean establishment so if correct, this is perhaps unsurprising. Since the re-emergence of democracy in 1990, some organisations like Casa Chilena have been able to hold meetings at the Embassy depending on the attitude of the Ambassador of the time. Jaime, who unusually for a core exile member, has a very open attitude to others and to collaboration outside of the exile group, mentioned the changing stance according to the government in power. The Ambassador sent by Piñera in 2010 refused to continue this arrangement with Casa Chilena, though this has now been reinstated. Ongoing division has persisted amongst the exiles between those who will attend events at the Embassy and those who will not. The latter feel very strongly that while the Chilean state still permits the hanging of Pinochet's portrait in the Palacio de La Moneda or the appointment of those implicated in torture and disappearances to important positions, they cannot have anything to do with it. One exile, now returned to live in Chile, described the further rupture that occurred at the time of Pinochet's arrest in London between those who maintained links with the Embassy (Salvador Allende Cultural Centre and Casa Chilena for example) and other organisations which didn't. The arrest had the effect of changing the exile landscape in various ways, reigniting interest especially among younger generations, and providing the catalyst for renewed protests outside the Embassy which still occur at times. State funding of various diaspora organisations since 1990 has proved a source of jealousy amongst organisations run by later cohorts. Although there is an official process of application and awarding of funds available from DICOEX (the Chilean government Department for Chileans Living Overseas), people talk of favouritism in the way that funds are allocated depending on one's relationship with the Embassy or Consul at the time.

It is evident that multiple levels of division exist within the diaspora, both between the different groups of migrants and for different reasons as identified. Diaspora literature tells us of many types of divisions, those based on class or background which are

replicated in diaspora (Brah, 1996), regional or tribal divisions (Hall, 1994), political divisions (Werbner, 2000), and divisions based on time of arrival (Pall Sveinsson, 2006). Divisions and difference have been rife within the Chilean diaspora, a key feature since the very beginning where political factions and allegiances have been a source of tension. As other research found, class and social boundaries found at 'home' can be replicated in diaspora (Lampert, 2009, 2012; Pall Sveinsson, 2006) and indeed, can sometimes be observed more sharply. This research adds to the body of literature in addressing the effect of time on divisions within diasporas. In tracing the divisions from the start of diaspora in the 1970s to the present, we see how divisions and difference can shift under certain circumstances and can also remain the same. Whilst there is a certain amount of overlap between organisation membership and participation, particularly over the passage of time, there has not been much interaction or collaboration between the large numbers of groups on a regular basis. Exceptions to this rule for specific reasons will be discussed in the next chapter. However, whilst the predominant experience throughout the life of this diaspora has been one of difference and division, there have recently been several attempts to overcome political, generational or class divides with the creation of new types of organisations like Comunidad Chile and Chilenos en el UK. It remains unclear to what extent these are successful in genuinely overcoming the longstanding entrenched positions in Chilean society, also seen within the diaspora. Cohort identity and intra-organisational interactions in diaspora inform and shape the framing of transnational links, therefore this understanding of the complicated web of relationships and the basis for social and organisational interplay provides the backdrop to move forward and analyse individual, organisational and institutional links back to Chile in Chapter Eight.

7.2 Deep Rooted Underpinnings

The surface tensions of the previous section rest upon a bedrock of deeper and more complicated issues. In this section, I will look at the deeper fundamental causes of alienation which pervade the diaspora and affect their relationships to each other and 'home'.

7.2.1 The Legacy of the Past

All the Chileans interviewed in the UK mentioned the divisions between the various groups in the UK. These are not only self-evident divisions due to the differences between people based on individual preference, background, class and education. They are divisions directly related to the dictatorship and the ensuing years of polarisation in Chilean society which overlaps with class and political ideology. The political divides in Chile from the time of the coup, and the resulting impact on the social fabric of Chilean society, has had a direct impact on the existence and behaviour of the UK-based Chilean diaspora. Chile is among several countries struggling to reconcile a difficult past, an area of continued division over how to remember what happened (Jelin, 2016; Hite and Collins, 2009). A distinct sense of discomfort comes across through many of the interviews with members of the looser cohort of people who moved for opportunity or love and the students, in relation to the exiles within the diaspora. For some, this discomfort stems from being on opposite sides of the political divide. For others, discomfort comes from the reminders of a past they prefer to leave behind and forget, that frequently emerges within organisational contacts, often online and most frequently around the time of September 11th (the anniversary of the coup d'état in 1973) and the 18th (annual Chilean Independence Day celebrations). For others yet, discomfort comes from the fact that they acknowledge and want to commemorate the atrocities suffered by many UK-based Chileans but are unsure how to do so. Opinions and views on whether or how to address the past within the present are strongly held and exercised. This is seen each year as groups plan their annual September 18th celebrations. Some Chileans use this space of discomfort and displacement as a means of trying to creatively embrace a different future, as seen in a couple of organisations which have a diverse membership and where a few people from opposing sides have come together to explore their differences and try to move forward (namely Comunidad Chile and Chilenos en el UK).

The examination of the different cohorts that make up the Chilean diaspora today has established that the past political conflict still carries a great deal of weight in diaspora life. Unlike in Chile itself, where for many people it is easier to live in the moment in the prosperous, modern country that Chile is today, it is harder to escape the past within the diaspora. The different comments below show that there is a clash between different cohort spaces within diaspora space in its totality. They reveal the range of feeling on this issue, even among those who agree that the dictatorship was something abhorrent. Tensions come to the fore between the space of the post-exile organisations with the complicated and painful exile space, and even within those spaces, between those who want to remember the past and those who want to move on. It is a clash between past and present, left and right, old and new migrants, old and new Chile, development visions - a clash on many different levels which persists.

It's about the mistrust. I see it's part of the culture and I've had deep reflections on the history of Chile - it's about the fear. This is a country which was in a dictatorship - a powerful dictatorship. In my childhood I lived in a very small world, and you felt the fear. Most of the population is still scared. So, the organisation of the population is difficult because you are always thinking that someone else might always have some sinister interest in your collaboration.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

Yeah, it's very difficult for me to understand, especially with younger generations because they weren't there, it's like it never happened. So it's easy for them to say, 'let's leave it behind in the past,' but it wasn't your father who was tortured, it wasn't your mother who waswhatever....you know, it did happen to my father....obviously I feel very strongly. Because it's easier to leave it like that. Rather than going and finding the real causes...and putting justice where it should be done.

Pablo (Male, 38, musician, arrived 1995, married to British woman)

I think we're quite defined from what happened in the 70s. For me, it's quite recent. Our mentality has been moulded to think in a certain way, so that's why it's difficult to have something in common with people from the 70s. There's a different mentality in how they think. There's still a lot of fear around, 'specially that generation and the generation that comes after.

Javier (Male, 34, journalist, arrived 2006, married to British man)

There's a lot of pain and hurt and it's in my family as well, there's a lot of loss but I felt like I wanted to create something new. I didn't want to carry on that pain, that hurt. 3 years ago, I met these people who are my age, have come from Chile and married English people so there's an element of...there's resonance there. We resonate with the fact that we are half here, half there and we want to integrate both sides. And we talk about it. Last year for the 40 years after the coup, we did have a gathering, we did have a memorial, we did connect and talk about our memories and the difference. We also celebrate the difference between us. But it's taken time to carve the community out and now we see it's happening, it's happening much more.

Stef (Female, 38, psychologist, daughter of Chilean exiles moved to Norway aged 7 in the 1980s, now moved to Britain to study and work)

Pablo and Stef's families were directly affected by the repression and their perspectives are differently coloured by that experience, whereas Javier and Fernando were not affected but they can relate and show empathy for those who were. The latter two both comment on the ongoing fear as something present and current within the population rather than in the past. This fear is about the possible return of dictatorship which people see as a possibility due to ongoing repressive practices by the police and state in Chile. This common perspective helps to put Chile's OECD status in context. Chile may meet the economic criteria but if the political situation still causes this level of anxiety and concern, one must question whether it can really be regarded as

‘developed’. This relates to my argument for the need to consider much broader notions of development than the narrow one from the diaspora development paradigm.

Chile has been unable to come to a peaceful and conclusive reconciliation with its past. Efforts made to do so by various governments post-dictatorship have been hampered by the legal and political infrastructure left in place by Pinochet's legacy. The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in 1990-1991 (known as the Rettig Report), investigated human rights abuses which resulted in death. The Report did not include torture or other abuses which did not result in death within its scope. The subsequent National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture (the Valech Report) in 2003 went further and documented abuses including torture. The prevailing situation today where people remain in authority who are believed to have committed crimes, coupled with the continued struggle for some who suffered torture to get appropriate recognition and reparations awarded, demonstrates that Chile's past has not been effectively dealt with and therefore has not moved on (Ropp and Sikkink, 1999; Valdivia Ortiz De Zárate, 2003). Only in 2020 did Chile finally vote to draft a new Constitution to replace the one set out under Pinochet in 1980 which included an amnesty for state perpetrators of crimes and a ban on union activity (Gómez-Barris, 2009). Many diasporans feel that this process has not gone far enough to confront and effectively tackle these issues, allowing the country to finally move forward properly.

I don't feel that I want to celebrate for example the 18th of September. I don't feel it part of my life anymore. I am ANGRY with my country, very angry because in spite of everything that happens, still nobody has told me 'I'm so sorry that this happened to you, it shouldn't have happened, you were not a criminal'. Nobody has told me that, nobody has apologised. I haven't received any compensation for the torture, for what happened to my health. Physical health and psychological health. We are still trying to get some money from the government. They have given compensation to the widows, to the orphans, all the secondary victims. But us, the first

victims, because there is an amnesty, the crimes were condoned, so we haven't received anything.

Michele (Female, 68, exile, poet, arrived in 1975)

Several exiles like Michele are marooned in a place of great anger, feeling that their legitimate claims for justice are still being ignored. There has been a rupture of the bond in their feelings for Chile, as Michele says, due to the lack of genuine recognition of the immense suffering and trauma she endured which affects her and her family to this day. She is unable to move forward and remains trapped by the legacy of the past atrocities in her day-to-day life. This feeling was not uncommon amongst the interviewees and has also been documented by other researchers (Serpente, 2015). Some are unable to see any good in the present country that is Chile, though some are affected more than others; '[w]hile they all have scar tissue to show for their experiences, not as many have open wounds,' (Peddie, 2014, p. 12). Seven of the eleven older exiles interviewed have been more open to moving forwards, demonstrated by their attendance at Consulate and Embassy run events or their collaboration with Chilean officials today. Two are more reticent and refuse to attend events at these sites which to them represent ongoing official acceptance of past government crimes. On one occasion, Andrea (an interviewee) had organised a visit to the UK for Los Hermanos Millar, a music group. They gave two concerts, one at the Consulate and one at Praxis (a community centre in Bethnal Green with longstanding ties to London based Chileans) in conjunction with the Salvador Allende Cultural Centre. The two venues catered to quite different sections of the Chilean diaspora. Umberto, an exile, mentioned the rupture that occurred at the time of Pinochet's arrest between those who kept their links with the embassy (Salvador Allende Cultural Centre and Casa Chilena) and his set of friends and allies who didn't. It changed the exile landscape in various ways - reigniting interest, especially among younger generations, but also causing new schisms between the older ones. Andrea did not leave Chile under the regime (I have not classified her as an exile for this reason) despite being tortured and imprisoned as a member of MIR. She came to the UK in 1992 because she was in a relationship with a British woman. Of all her generation interviewed, and who

shared a similar background in terms of politics and treatment by the regime, she was the most open minded and tolerant in outlook, attending all types of events including those run by new organisations like Comunidad Chile. Some of the younger generation see her as an example of how the past can be reconciled with the present, as Stef explains:

Andrea came to the Family Fonda. She's from the old guard. She's had horrible experiences in her life and represents what our country went through...and she was there at this new thing, communicating with the children. The children there were all mixed, half Chilean, half something else. It was beautiful to see that generations can connect in that way. That gives me hope.

Stef (Female, 38, psychologist, daughter of Chilean exiles moved to Norway aged 7 in the 1980s, now moved to Britain to study and work)

Stef's comment is interesting as she is a child of exiles who fled to Norway where she grew up. She goes on to say how the pain that people still feel needs to be properly addressed. The second generation like Stef see a change happening now. The children of exiles, who themselves were also exiles, had different perspectives to their parents and their experience differs, perhaps partly based on how old they were when their parents went into exile. Whilst some exiles like Andrea and Jaime are beginning to bridge the gaps of generation and past trauma, they seem to be in a definite minority within the number remaining in the UK.

Class is implicitly present in many of these accounts though often not explicitly voiced. Those who have grown up in families where exile and torture were key features of their lives contrast strongly with those who grew up sheltered from this, with no knowledge whatsoever of the political and existential troubles that others suffered. Paloma, now in her late forties, grew up in a middle-class family who protected her from the realities of what was going on during her childhood. This excerpt from her interview reveals the

experience some people had growing up, knowing very little about the realities that were normal for other Chileans:

I grew up in the dictatorship and I was very sheltered as a kid. My parents didn't talk about politics at home at all. I knew nothing about it. They didn't discuss anything in front of us. I think because they were scared in case I said anything outside the house because that was the problem at that time. You never knew who you were talking to. So that was never discussed. Nothing! We never, ever talked about anything. Or at least they never talked about politics when I was there. I was the youngest one and I went to a school where most of the girls came from right wing families, very much so. Either Pinochet supporters, girls whose parents were in the military, or just simply sympathetic to the right wing in general. In Chile it's not just a political view, being right wing gives you a status, a class status, which is why a lot of the working class are right wing. It's not because of political views. But if you are right wing, you're a little bit posher because in general the middle and upper classes are right wing and the lower middle and working classes are not. There's this silly thing, 'specially among the lower middle-class where you have to say you agree with this conservative side because that makes you a little bit posh. And that still exists! And a lot of the time, without any political knowledge or basis whatsoever. In my school, most of the people were more to the right, or if you weren't, you didn't say anything, because the majority were. I had a very good friend at that school. We never talked about politics at all but last year, she posted on the 11th of September on Facebook, 'this is a very sad day for me. I remember being very happy the day before not knowing I would never see my father again.' And I was so shocked! Because I've known her for years and I never knew and it's so frustrating that this is what we had to do. Not talk about anything. The poor thing must have gone through a terrible time at her age. And not be able to tell anyone. And all we knew was that her father had died. No one actually

asked what had happened to him! And even if we had, she'd probably have made some story up. And it was a terrible shock because she's my age, and it's probably the first time she's said anything.

Paloma (Female, 44, investment banker, arrived in 1993, married to British man)

It is evident here how Paloma's childhood experience resulted in a lack of knowledge and the shock almost forty years later at discovering that a friend's father had been killed by the dictatorship. In her university years, Paloma confronted her own lack of knowledge and educated herself about the realities of this. To others interviewed of a similar age and background like Fabiana, also well educated, the dictatorship seems unreal and a boring and irrelevant part of history, potentially due to being sheltered from the realities and horrors that others have experienced. Lack of knowledge about the real situation growing up under the dictatorship was quite common amongst children and young people at the time. Through a combination of parental action to protect, through government policy to silence and lack of education at schools, it became relatively easy for some to sidestep these issues and believe that they are genuinely no longer important or relevant to modern Chilean life. However, whereas Fabiana and Paloma shared similar childhoods in this respect, today they display markedly different attitudes towards the suffering endured during the dictatorship and the ongoing effects of this on families. Fabiana's self-declared disinterest in this issue could come from a place of boredom with the whole subject however, it could also reflect a lack of understanding or willingness to engage with this for whatever reason. Her interview shows that she knows people, like Paloma, who have experienced the full force of the regime's reign of terror, yet Fabiana manages to avoid this and ignore what she does not want to confront. This situation brings to mind Brah's observation mentioned in Chapter Two of 'home' as simultaneously a place of refuge and of terror, depending on one's particular history (Brah, 1996, p. 181). As we can see from Paloma's account, class is therefore an important dimension in its intersection with political ideology and the effect on lived experience.

With such diversity in people's realities of growing up within the times of dictatorship or afterwards, it is understandable that this informs great difference in opinion. As a result of the lack of education in schools on this subject and the limited amount of information in the Chilean media (frequently biased towards the right) many people have grown up almost oblivious to the real nature of the schism in Chilean society, feeling that accounts of abuses by the regime are grossly exaggerated. Cornejo et al. documented 'an active silencing effort by their parents' in hiding what might be harmful for the people concerned and is understood as a form of protection. This then causes children who have undergone this approach to themselves repeat this 'silence-based course of action' (Cornejo et al., 2020, p. 610). The chasm between these types of attitudes and the ongoing difficult lives of those who were abused is challenging to bridge without a re-education and honest exploration of the past in all its unpleasantness. Moreover, the past is not only a historical phenomenon put firmly behind many people, but with the continuing existence of those perpetrators who have not faced accountability for their actions and their supporters facing Chileans at 'home' and in diaspora, it remains a part of daily life today. The continued employment of a long-term member of Embassy staff serves as a constant reminder of these difficult times:

Emilio Márquez was the director of the Instituto O'Higginiano who is a Pinochet lover. He took Pinochet his shoes in the house where he was under arrest in Virginia Water. Emilio Márquez is a very sinister character and he is still a fundamental part of the embassy.....he will always be there. When the [new] Ambassador arrives in the embassy, there are plants, there are lamps, the TV and there is Emilio Márquez! He comes with the house! So, he does a lot! He doesn't distinguish between political sides. He helps everyone. He is a good person. He helps Jaime, he is very effective and helps a lot. But, he will tell you himself, 'I love General Pinochet.'

Isidora (Female, 36, teacher, previously married to a British man, arrived in England in 2000 and returned to Chile in 2012)

Isidora's words demonstrate an interesting ambivalence in her perspective on Emilio Márquez. Politically she finds his views abhorrent and finds his continued presence at the Embassy a sign of the persisting tentacles of dictatorship, but she also recognises that he is a decent person who has assisted many people including her friends. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the history of political contestation in Chile, to some degree, affects almost all the UK-based Chileans in some way. Backing for the most popular candidate in upcoming Chilean elections in 2021 comes from supporters of the regime; these 'current happenings show how active the legacies of the dictatorship remain' (Cornejo et al., 2020, p. 613). Those directly affected in diaspora are the exiles and their extended families, in the past and present. The exile group, forced violently from Chile under stressful and dangerous circumstances, lived life in the UK, at least initially, focused on how to return 'home'. The political history of contestation is the cause and perhaps the defining factor of their diasporic experience. However, for other Chilean groups, that is not the case. Whilst some people in the loose middle group defined their reasons for leaving as related to the political situation, it was not the direct cause as it was for the exiles. For most people in the other cohorts, choice and opportunity was the driving factor. The students, which are the group perhaps most unrelated to this history, nevertheless have also been affected by these dynamics during their time in the UK. For these other cohorts, the political history of Chile has an impact on their experience in the UK but in a different way to that of the exiles. For them, this is something on the margins of their existence, rather than the centre. It is something that surfaces periodically, rather than being a constant, and it affects them in their interactions with other Chileans. Serpente argues that the diaspora space of exiles in the UK creates new spaces which she terms 'multidirectional constellations that signal new ways of relating to the dictatorial past' (Serpente, 2015, p. 58). In this study, I have shown that this concept goes much further to include the whole diaspora space in understanding how ways of relating to the past develop and change in response to different diaspora members and their interactions.

7.2.2 A New Chile - Silencing the Old

The society is broken, it was broken in the dictatorship...there is no sense of society or community. The people who went back, they couldn't settle, they couldn't adapt back, it's always the search for home. How do we make our home? Where is home? I still don't feel at home in Britain and Chile is not my home any more. The Chile I knew is dead to me.

Michele (Female, 68, exile, poet, arrived in 1975)

Michele's plaintive words capture the feelings and struggles shared by all the exiles in their testimonies. She has been in Britain since 1975 yet still feels in her own words, like a 'foreigner' here. When she goes visits Chile, she feels like a stranger in a place that should feel familiar. This sense of dislocation and limbo, of failing to recognise the Chile they knew in the Chile that remains is a common one. The creation of a new type of country under the leadership of General Pinochet was comprehensive and done with absolute ruthlessness, as a dictatorship has the power to do.

Some would say that in Chile there wasn't a coup d'etat, there was a re-establishment of Chile. Chilean history was stopped and a new Chile was started. It wasn't a continuation like what happened in Argentina, Bolivia, Peru where there were military dictatorships but once the dictatorship had ended, that history continued. In Chile, they ended Chile as it was and they established a new Chile, a new society completely.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

The military regime was extremely thorough in the way they dismantled the old Chile that existed up until 1973 and created an altogether different Chile. In abolishing existing laws and democratic infrastructure and replacing these with new legal instruments of their own, the regime's members created the conditions for their survival. This legal and constitutional reform coupled with the radical economic changes and the wholesale destruction of civil society participation was successful in the establishment

of an entirely different set of conditions. These wholesale reconstructions of Chilean politics and society ensured three key factors: 1) the legacy of the regime would endure, 2) there would be limited opportunities for legal comeback or justice even in the fullness of time, 3) as a result of the first two, the effect would be the creation of a culture of denial. The denial of mass violence is not particular to the Chilean case but is a phenomenon seen in relation also to the Holocaust, the Rwanda genocide, the Gulags, the former Yugoslavia and the Armenian genocide (Behrens et al., 2017). As well as explicit rebuttal that events occurred at all, denial includes 'the minimization, banalization, and relativization of the relevant facts and events, so as to cast doubt on the uniqueness or authenticity of what happened' (Wistrich, 2012), as Juan's comment reveals:

There is what we call 'la desmemoria', this hole that nobody wants to step into or talk about. People just walk around it, they don't want to know. The people in Chile suffered too much and they don't want to go back. They don't want to face the reality of what happened and also, there's so many people who collaborated and were involved in this, people they knew, people who are in power. It becomes impossible.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

Some exiles use *desmemoria* to describe the obliteration or denial of the memory of the past amongst the Chilean population. The lack of proper attention and education in subsequent generations of the truth about the dictatorship allows an atmosphere to persist where it is easy and indeed natural to gloss over the horrors of the past and focus on the modernity and success of the present. Whilst there have been judicial processes and hearings, as well as government recognition of the atrocities, many feel that this process has not gone nearly far enough to bring about genuine truth and reconciliation. This *desmemoria* is perhaps more starkly obvious amongst the Chileans in the UK than it is in Chile itself. Unlike living in Chile, where those who suffered under the dictatorship are eclipsed by other more pressing current events, living in the UK forces all types of Chileans to actively see a group of people, the exiles, that many

would prefer to forget exist. Their existence as a cohesive group today serves to remind people of the uncomfortable past many would rather forget. The effect therefore seems to be to deny even more strenuously that the past needs to be acknowledged and to repress even more the public performances of pain and suffering in the interests of 'moving on' and bringing people together. It is the *desmemoria* and the denial of it which is at the very heart of many of the internal conflicts within the Chileans in the UK today.

A similar process was carried out in Argentina, one that Diana Taylor has called percepticide. Percepticide describes the way the military disappeared people openly whilst simultaneously denying knowledge of this to the general public. Taylor (1997) argues that military repression is 'a performance that 'disappears' its audience' (p.61). This explains the combination of state repression being erased from public knowledge at the same time as publicising the alleged dangers that certain people posed to the nation and justifying military intervention. 'The triumph of the atrocity was that it forced people to look away - a gesture that undid their sense of personal and communal cohesion even as it seemed to bracket them from their volatile surroundings' (Taylor, 1997, p. 122). Having encountered the words *desmemoria* and 'dismemberment' in the interviews, the latter one appeared again in reading Bibler Coutin's study of Salvadoran young people in their attempts to negotiate membership within their 'host' (the US) and 'home' (Salvador) countries. Here, she argues that 'dismemberment' comes from civil war, displacement and emigration but also the precarious legal status of the young people in their host countries and thus there is a need to 're/member'. In dismembering, there is an erasing and breaking apart of bodies and nations (Bibler Coutin, 2007, p. 3-4). The destruction caused in all senses in Chile which works alongside the effective results of a percepticide has resulted in this 'deliberate forgetting' that contributed to the creation of a false sense of a new era. The *desmemoria* or the silent pact which causes conflict when brought into the open, causes a paralysis at the heart of diaspora. It contributes to the lack of closure and the eternal spectre of the past: the real cause and root of many divisions amongst diaspora, further exacerbated by other factors like class and education. In the UK, the exiles are a visible and constant reminder in the UK of the

past. Being harder to ignore, this disrupts the silent pact that enables people to move on in oblivion.

Returning to Paloma's story, going to university made her realise that there was a whole side to Chilean life that she had not previously been exposed to. Although initially intimidated, she chose to educate herself and engage with the issues.

I went to, not every single demonstration, but loads of them. Which I felt really good about. It was a real shock and it's quite funny to think that today, there are people in Chile who never had that awakening because they continue to have sheltered lives and move within their little circles of rich families who don't mix with the rest and who are not interested in what happened really unless they benefit from it.

Paloma (Female, 44, investment banker, arrived in 1993, married to British man)

Paloma's astute observation about people who have not been challenged or pushed into awareness about the realities of the regime's actions makes the point that those who attended right-wing universities not only had their beliefs confirmed but also justified by the power of greater numbers. I witnessed an exchange between a wealthy businessman father and daughter over a family lunch the first time I was in Chile in 1997. The daughter asked her father about living in Chile during the early years of the dictatorship. He and his wife had been living in Europe as wealthy expatriates but decided to return to Chile in the mid 1970s to have an even better quality of life (via domestic staff and cheaper cost of living) and more business opportunities. His daughter asked him how he could justify the actions of the Pinochet government. He replied that it was necessary at the time which opened up a heated family argument. Clearly, in his mind the government was justified in acting the way it did because it was essential for the survival of the country. He did not like being questioned and made to feel that his position might be flawed. The implications of that were too terrible to contemplate. How could he, a reasonable and measured businessman who simply

wanted to give his family a decent standard of living, be made to share responsibility for actions that in his view had been exaggerated and were in any case necessary? So much has been unspoken or unacknowledged in certain spheres whether through protection by one's parents in Paloma's case or through sidestepping issues and closing an eye to things that do not concern one personally. The result seems to be this collective pact of silence engendered through a climate of fear and sustained through deliberate amnesia.

Keeping trauma and human rights abuses in the past and closing the door on it serves a distinct purpose. It allows for moving forward in the present and contributes to the undermining of the genuine efforts for progress and reconciliation within the diaspora and in Chile. Critics of the transition to democracy in Chile have called it '*el blanqueo*' (the iceberg or whitening) to denote the erasure of history from institutional memory (Gómez-Barris, 2009). Attempts to forget and occlude the past defined this period in the early years following the new democracy (Moulián, 1998). The very foundations of belonging to the new Chile and the modern Chilean diaspora are built on *desmemoria*. Cornejo et al. identify the 'voice of silence' created in families to protect which is then repeated by subsequent generations coupled with the conditions created by the regime that 'imposed a social mandate of silence and secrecy that prevented elaboration processes' in other words, elaborating and engaging with the facts of the past (Cornejo et al., 2020, p. 612; Cornejo et al., 2009). Those who collectively and individually deny the *desmemoria* are set apart from others, a phenomenon especially stark in diaspora. For those exiles and families, and those who acknowledge the truth of what happened in Chile, these things are not in the past, but they remain present in the present, and they will go on into the future. Avoiding the issue helps to maintain division and recreates it anew in each generation. Despite people's hopes that as time passes, and with further generations, that things will heal, it is difficult to see how this can take place without some genuine and open resolution. Instead of one eclipsing the other progressively, the blurring of temporal boundaries between past, present and future parallels the morphing of different places which co-exist simultaneously in the space that is diaspora transnational life.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has carried out a detailed analysis of the relationships between the different cohorts of the UK-based Chilean diaspora. Attention has focused on interactions *between* diaspora members, as the source of conflicts and divisions in the past and present, to understand how past politics and the process of leaving one's 'home' country has impacted life in diaspora. Interactions within and between cohorts are subject to similar issues to those at play within Chilean society at 'home' in terms of class, background and politics, combined with the effect of different arrival times due to various temporal, social and political factors. These factors are not merely identifying features of the cohorts but matter immensely in the ways that they relate to each other. Being an exile within the diaspora confers a particular status and experience that is completely separate to others. Being a student within the diaspora also confers a particular status and experience. It is therefore clear how the process of leaving Chile, as the research question asks, influences the experience of being in diaspora. In the juxtaposition of these cohorts within the space of diaspora, the data has shown tensions and rivalries which manifest through the interactions of individuals and organisations over many years.

The research questions also asked how the history of political contestation has framed the experience of being in diaspora. I have argued that not only is the political history visible on the surface in the debates and disagreements that often emerge in the various platforms that the diaspora meet or the dislikes and prejudices that people have about each other, but it underpins the *totality* of the diaspora experience in multiple ways. It has been shown that Chile's history of political contestation and the shocking events which tore apart the fabric of Chilean society colours the experience of being in diaspora whoever you are. The major contribution that this brings to the literature is that in a space where exiles are a visible and active part of the whole, people are unable to bypass the issues that they can back 'home'. The sharp evidence of the political past which in Chile, many are able to side-step or ignore, whether deliberately

or otherwise, is not possible in the same way in diaspora. Here, things play out differently. In a fluid space where the exiles are a major part of the present landscape, people are confronted with the issues that Chile has sought to leave behind. The *desmemoria* and pact of silence which protects from these uncomfortable realities at 'home' is exposed.

In Chapter Eight, this phenomenon will be analysed further in terms of its effect on links to Chile and the relationship of these links to the continued development of the country in broad terms. Through the passage of time and the tangible effects on diaspora of political, social and economic change that trace Chile's progression to a more highly developed and high-income country, we can see how the focus of diaspora organisations and links back 'home' have evolved. These links will be analysed in detail to assess how they have been shaped and framed by diaspora members in different time periods and the factors that contribute to this. Keeping diaspora own meanings and interpretations of what these activities and practices mean for them at the forefront is vital to interpreting whether these can be understood as developmental.

Chapter Eight

Personal Attachments, Shared Bonds of Interest and Professional Connections: Dynamic Meanings of Links Homeward

Being a Chilean in the UK is a highly varied experience, as living in a country away from 'home' is for any migrant. How one experiences the migration journey, reception in the UK, adapting and settling in, making connections, ease of securing work and language barriers all influence the way one begins to feel settled and eventually at 'home' or not (Blunt, 2005; Boccagni, 2016). Thinking of this experience as a spectrum on which one may remain fixed at a certain point or move up or down depending on external and internal considerations is perhaps a useful way to look at this. In turn, all these elements and individual experiences will have a corresponding impact on the way that Chileans relate to their country of origin. This intense variability demonstrates the difficulty of making generalised observations about transnational links and points to some of the problems with the transnational literature, namely its lack of sufficient attention to temporality and different categories of migrants within diasporas. Nevertheless, the principle of diasporas leading lives that span or bypass national boundaries is one that is evident amongst Chileans but to vastly differing degrees depending on the cohort in question and other factors.

In this chapter, we will look at the third research sub question which asks, 'what activities and practices has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged in and how have these been framed, particularly in relation to concepts of development and politics?' Links back to Chile will be analysed in greater detail to categorise the types of activity carried out over the last fifty years and to understand the motivations and meaning ascribed to them. I will show how these links have been perceived and portrayed by diaspora members in different time periods and the multiple factors that contribute to this. How people identify and relate to others is critical to understanding their links to 'home' and different notions of development and politics. Thus, an examination of the homeward links as described, within this broad approach, will take us further in our understanding of the relationship of these links to the continued development of

Chile in all its dimensions. In actively teasing out relationships to 'home' through the different groups and seeking to unpick the reasons for these individual and collective endeavours, we can unravel the multiple aspects of development and politics at work.

This chapter will assess the different types of transnational links identified in the fieldwork, look at how people discuss them and analyse their political and developmental significance where appropriate. In her exploration of transitory phenomena in social realities, Malkki's analysis of Moore and her commentary on the 'unusual' or the 'extreme' illuminates our understanding of the Chilean diaspora in the UK. She points out that '[i]n many cases, the presumed uniqueness of the circumstances implies a diminished scholarly weight for the evidence.' In other words, if an action is identified as a one-off or small-scale occurrence, it is not generally considered valuable in research terms. Moreover, we have consistently been programmed to look for 'the repetitive, the persistent, the normative' (Malkki, 1997, p. 98-90; Moore 1987). The assumptions that underpin many of the initiatives to encourage the engagement of diasporas in the development of their homelands are based on understandings of diaspora which rely on generic ideas of the links that diasporas have back 'home'. These stem largely from early research on transnationality and Home Town Associations by Orozco and others in the Latin American cases as explored in Chapter Two (Agunias, 2006; Orozco, 2003, 2006; Levitt 1998; Portes, 2009), particularly in reference to low income and developing countries. This research body shows a predictability of approach, a commonality of purpose and a set of effects that have led states and international NGOs to base their interventions and programmes on these presumptions. The fieldwork data from the Chilean diaspora unsettles these presumptions by showing an immense variety of types of links back 'home', many of which might be considered 'unusual' as Malkki stresses, and may not be perceived by the development mainstream as particularly developmental in nature; indeed, they may even be perceived as anti-developmental (Raghuram, 2009). We do not find here the co-ordinated efforts of the like seen in the Home Town Associations of Mexicans in the US or the Nigerians in the UK (Lampert, 2009, 2014; Orozco, 2003, 2006). Instead, the picture is fragmented, hugely diverse, very temporally dependent and responsive to

shifting social and political norms in Chile. The theory around diaspora and development success in low-income countries focuses on a set of expectations that economic and social remittances will automatically transfer to countries of origin if the right conditions are present or created by sending country governments. The data shows that the Chilean diaspora behaves in quite disparate ways relating to a more highly developed, high income country with a set of development statistics that many admire. To assume that this means that diaspora links back 'home' are not political or developmental in nature would be short-sighted. By looking closely at the way the diaspora themselves formulate these actions, the meaning that they hold can be teased out and properly identified.

8.1 Personal and Individual Links to Chile

The UK-based Chilean diaspora in the main, like most who live far from loved ones, has very personal reasons for keeping close ties with their 'home' country. Regardless of cohort, or the timing of arrival in the UK, almost everyone related stories of frequent and sometimes daily contact with family and friends in Chile. New technologies have revolutionised the way people connect across such a vast distance, making geography seem almost irrelevant. For the exile cohort though, keeping in touch during the dictatorship was hard and often risky, with letters censored by the military authorities. People told of difficulties and expense keeping in touch by letter and telephone, as Hector saw with his teacher parents who fled Chile in 1975.

For a long time, at least 10 years, they had hardly any contact with their family, 'cos you know, phone calls were expensive at the time. You'd have to write to each other and that was a very slow process and people get lazy after a while. It was easy to not hear from someone for 10 years.

Hector (Male, 42, exile, arrived 1975 aged 1, returned to live in Chile)

Many testimonies showed that the distance felt much further in those days than it does today. Paloma who came to the UK in 1998 when dial-up internet was still slow and

expensive, mentioned recording tapes to share stories with her best friend, to feel like they were talking to each other. As time and technology have moved on, the diaspora has taken full advantage, first with Skype and now all the other platforms for global connectivity, allowing freely available access to conversation and the ability to see each other, making a tangible difference to feeling closer. Another new and growing area in the literature, the impact of technology on migration has impacted many dimensions such as the maintenance of transnational networks (Lim et al., 2016; Oiarzabal and Reips, 2012).

Yes, we talk all the time! With my family. I was talking to my son, he's not well, he has a fever and I feel so bad, he's so far, what can I do? And I call my mum who lives not too far, and she goes to him.

Yasmin (Female, 52, cleaner, arrived 2000, came to join her brother)

People use technology to maintain relationships and fulfil caring and health responsibilities in a multitude of ways as seen by Yasmin calling upon her mother in Chile for local help. Transnational care giving has been categorised into practical, financial or emotional dimensions supported through different means of communication (Baldassar, 2007). Technology is also used to keep up to date with news, current events and politics in Chile. Many of the interviewees read the Chilean news daily, some getting news from Facebook initially before going to local news platforms. Whilst technology has moved forward significantly in the last fifteen or so years, transforming the landscapes of conversation and connection, travel to Chile remains complicated and extremely expensive for the vast majority. The distance and expense of travel being a significant barrier to most people, they cannot travel to Chile to see their friends and families more than every three to five to years at best. Even the top earners in the UK, one an investment banker and the other married to a lawyer, stated that they found it difficult financially to go more than every two years. One of the female interviewees had managed to go every sixth months or so and her family travelled to the UK every year but this was a rare exception. The interviewees demonstrated that they make the effort to save and travel to Chile when possible and when they do, they try to stay for several

weeks. Students' experience was altogether different related to the finite nature of their time in the UK. Most of them did not return to Chile during the period of their studies as it was financially impracticable, although the students from wealthy families were able to do so. Finances and time therefore have a direct impact on people's desire or ability to lead a transnational life. This demonstrates that the ability to be transnational is class differentiated. Some students from rich families may go back in every holiday unlike others. So, there are also differences based on personal circumstances and life stage which intersect with class.

An interesting subject that was frequently observed in the data, perhaps surprisingly given the distance and difficulty in travelling, was the number of people who had a business or professional interest in Chile, with many examples of individual links throughout the decades spanning a wide variety of areas. Valentina who left Chile in 1999, came to the UK in 2013 via several years in Spain. She was still a part owner of a taxi company operated by her brother in the South of Chile. Adolfo had owned a restaurant in Coquimbo for several years and moved back and forth from Chile to the UK several times since arriving originally in 1983. Pablo, a long-standing Embassy employee in London had a long-held interest in horse racing and had bought part shares in various horses in Chile. He had also prudently bought an apartment in Santiago and several acres of land further South, having always rented a place in London. His mother had lived on the land until she died and his plans involved creating a tourism and events business there with accommodation, swimming pool and bakery. Several interviewees mentioned a similar dream of buying a small *parcela* (piece of land) where they could build their own home, one also wanting to have a tourism business bringing people from England. Natalia and Evelyn already owned small plots of land with houses by the beach for them to enjoy with family in the popular summer areas north of Santiago. A doctor and several academics actively maintained professional platforms for their work in Chile, therefore working in both countries. This reach over space is indicative of the desire to expand business or professional networks in the service of personal advancement and potentially advancement for the benefit of Chile itself, a form of brain circulation and transmission of knowledge exchange in

action. It might also however be read as the exercising of power over transnational space. Work on the quiet reach of power across and within borders calls attention to the ways that actions aim to influence or secure outcomes (Allen, 2020). The energy and time invested in the upkeep of such professional platforms should lead us to consider whether such initiatives reflect an interest in influencing the relevant sphere in question in Chile.

The phenomenon of families split across continents and divided between countries is a common one for most migrants. Within the family migration literature, the family unit is recognised as playing a complex role within decision-making processes and can be reconfigured in multiple ways through migration (Ryan, 2011). The migrant family is no longer seen as a co-located unit, instead recognised as a spatially and temporally dispersed entity whose members are part of 'multi-stranded social relations which link together migrants' societies of origin and settlement' (Baldassar and Baldock, 2000, p. 63). Therefore, a divided family is something that people have to navigate and negotiate across time, space and place causing stress, loss of attachment or the missing of important family events that mark celebrations and sadnesses amidst a multitude of complex emotions. All these things are heightened even more as a source of ongoing pain and difficulty by the experience of living in exile. There is a particular pain associated with the divides caused by exile and return which came across strongly through the testimonies of the exiles. The process of leaving, the political nature of the exile experience and return decisions are fundamental to this issue. In most cases, the hurried and often secretive departures of exiles and their immediate families, meant abrupt goodbyes to parents and extended families. Many exiles never saw one or more parents or family members alive again and were unable to attend their funerals. Eduardo was one of the exile interviewees who most stood out to me. His resolute quietness spoke of the pain and suffering he endured to this day. This was most strongly evident when speaking of his family and how what had happened to him had a lasting impact on them. The memories he has of his parents trudging up the hill to visit him in prison, his tightly controlled description of his mother falling down onto her knees spoke more eloquently of the distress he felt at their visits, than if he had said much

more. Eduardo spoke of the last time he saw his father, with tears rolling down his face, as he said goodbye at the airport under immense pressure. He was never to see him again. He was unable to get permission to go back for the funeral. The emotion was clear in his account but he held it back - no doubt his way of coping with such tragic circumstances. The human misery and suffering that was caused by the military regime and their abuses of power was evident.

During the dictatorship period, many exiles were unable to return to Chile for eleven years at least (1973-1984), and those considered most dangerous were kept away until the plebiscite in 1988 or even longer (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007, p. 32). When return became a possibility, families faced the agonising decision of whether to return 'home' and uproot children who had grown up in Britain. In several cases, some families all left for Chile together, with great difficulty adjusting, resulting in cases of depression and children unable to access education due to gaps. Some couples separated, with one partner unable to adapt back to the reality of Chilean life and returning to Britain. Some families returned to Britain and then back to Chile again several times. Many exiled couples separated or divorced both during the dictatorship period and afterwards as a result of the pressures they faced. Family divisions extend into the second and third generations with one sibling in Chile or another in Britain and many permutations along these lines. The impacts are felt in all directions.

It's really hard for the father or the mother because you are in the middle of the two different cultures, so if you're here and you have the option to come back to your country, what happens? Your family, the children grow up here, and if you go to Chile, it's another culture, it's different.

Yasmin (Female, 52, cleaner, arrived 2000, came to join her brother)

I think with all the troubles we've had internally as a family, we do stand out a little bit as a tight unit that have managed to stay together, live together and actually stay here as well, because there's been a lot of this movement back and forth, it perpetuates the feeling of 'where do I call

home?' It's hard for some people to shake it off and say 'ok, well that cycle of my life is over, this is what I'm doing, this is where I am.' It just goes on and on for a lot of people.

Hector (Male, 42, exile, arrived 1975 aged 1, returned to live in Chile)

Research on transgenerational trauma amongst different populations shows that trauma does not only affect the person who suffered the atrocities, but can have major impacts on family members and 'haunt' subsequent generations (Sangalang & Vang, 2017; Schwab, 2010). The long tentacles of the Chilean dictatorship that stretch from one family member to others, passing through several generations, leave their mark and people are never quite able to escape, even after many years. Younger generations also carry the burden of remembering, of suffering, of seeing the impact that events had on their loved one's lives. Eduardo's nephew carries on the work of his uncle through his architecture practice, transforming of sites of torture into museums and memorials. Eduardo lives in Chile with one daughter whilst his wife lives in London with his other daughter. It was never quite clear whether they were together or separated but perhaps this is the nature of these complicated relationships forced to span borders. This section has examined the multiple types of personal links that emerged through fieldwork in the different periods. I will move onto looking at organisational links, the means through which much collective activity happens.

8.2 Organisational Links Homeward

Chapter Six outlined a wealth of Chilean diaspora organisations formed over fifty years of the diaspora's existence in the UK. I have shown that a wide variety of organisations exist, many set up in response to socio-political events in Chile and whose focus is largely directed towards Chile. There are also a multitude of other organisations whose focus is centred more firmly on diaspora life in the UK. Here, we will undertake a closer analysis of the links that diaspora organisations have with Chile, which manifest in multiple ways and for a variety of reasons. This incorporates both the Chile focused and the UK focused ones, though the latter to a lesser extent. Examining the activities

that link to Chile and identifying the motivations for these will enable a better understanding of how the diaspora themselves perceive what they do, and how the experience of being in diaspora as part of a particular cohort influences these homeward links. The methodology was designed to follow these links to Chile and to act as a mirror of the fieldwork carried out in UK. In other words, it made space for Chile-based organisational actors' perspective on their relationship with the diaspora. It traced the links to people who are still part of or who had been part of the diaspora, who gave their personal perspective on organisations, and also people in Chile-based branches of organisations or organisations in their own right, who spoke of their opinions of people in diaspora. Thus, we can see the views from Chile towards the UK-based organisational activities as well as the other way around.

8.2.1 Exile, Solidarity and Social Justice

Solidarity and the ongoing search for justice have been a key focus of links back to Chile. These links are temporally dependent, having changed during different decades in response to the shifting political and social climate in Chile. Here, the methodology design comes to the fore, highlighting the temporal aspect to this research, through the focus on cohorts grouped by decade. Taking the analysis in chronological order, we can trace the origins and evolution of the exile-based activities towards Chile from the very outset of the emergence of the diaspora in 1973. These activities are well documented internationally which shows the effective transnationality of the diaspora and its global reach in the 1970s and 1980s. The diverse range of activities included fundraising through cultural activities, the creation of *arpilleras* (burlap pictures) as a means of recording atrocities (Adams, 2012; Shayne, 2009), sending remittances to Chile to support local efforts on the ground, publicising illegal torture and imprisonment and denouncing the regime internationally (Kay, 1987, 1988; Ramírez, 2014) and marshalling global support with trade unions, political parties, the third sector and many other institutions (Miorelli & Piersanti, 2020; Olsson, 2008; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). After 1984, when the regime began to allow the return of small numbers of exiles to Chile, their knowledge of the external context and huge network of contacts abroad

allowed them to contribute to the eventual winning of the plebiscite in 1990 (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). The fieldwork data shows that these organised activities were central to most of the exiles' lives in the early years after arrival. Engaging in this way allowed them to feel somewhat connected to their country and their families and compatriots back 'home'. It also facilitated a renewed sense of purpose (to an extent) for those who had been very active prior to leaving Chile, whether in political parties, trade unions or education. Two people interviewed in Chile worked for the Vicaría de Solidaridad during this period, supporting political prisoners and their families and also organising craft workshops for solidarity and generating income for people to survive. They described the importance to those who remained in Chile of realising that there was immense support and activity going on elsewhere to generate powerful pressure on the regime, helping them to keep going. The Vicaría used remittances sent over to Chile from the UK and elsewhere for a range of purposes, to help families with housing, medication and travel costs to visit relatives in prison, as did some of the political parties. Adolfo, a Communist Party member, described sending remittances to shanty towns all over Chile to provide food and medication primarily. Most people described this work as solidarity in keeping with language employed at the time, with a couple of people who referred to it as development work. How concepts are used to describe and position organisational activities will be examined in detail later on.

After the reinstatement of democracy in 1990 following the plebiscite, the organisational landscape in the UK diaspora changed dramatically. With many people returning to Chile, others considering the prospect, and funding having stopped for most organisations, the diaspora was in a state of flux. Some organisations with a broader focus than the overthrow of the dictatorship, like the Salvador Allende Cultural Centre and Casa Chilena who wanted to keep alive their values and ideals, and those that wanted justice for the multiple human rights abuses carried out by the military regime, carried on their activities with a smaller membership.

People became less active than before. We organised political events but not many people came because there wasn't that urgency to be there and fight.

Jaime (Male, 67, exile, arrived in 1977, accountant)

Ongoing liaison began between diaspora organisations in the UK and counterparts in Chile that were now able to seek support for due process to put those who had committed crimes on trial, though this was constrained greatly by the 1980 constitution which remained in place, including an amnesty law and military exemptions (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). With efforts hampered by the continued climate of fear in Chile, external actors were critically important to keeping these issues at the forefront of the political agenda. The key difference in this period as Juan explained, was that the new government wanted the human rights organisations to align themselves with it, something that he and others in diaspora were not keen to do.

We disagreed with them because we said governments can never do a job like this. It will have to be the NGOs who keep an eye on them. Lots of exiled people working in human rights at the time of the dictatorship, moved into NGOs that were created after Aylwin came to power, and those continued.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

Juan commented that he and the organisations he has been involved with over the years like Memoria Viva and EcoMemoria have been perceived by some as quite extreme in their drive to continue documenting human rights abuses and their fight for a comprehensive legal approach and due justice. He, and others like Michele and Andrea, maintain active links with human rights organisations that continue to make the case for compensation and a proper legal process to have crimes investigated in Chile. One of these is the Unión de Ex Prisioneros Políticos de Chile which represents a number of the British exiles. Michele is in regular contact with Victor Rosas Vergara (his real name), a Chilean based solicitor and former exile looking after her case, one of the

background interviewees. Juan and his UK-based colleagues are actively involved in the overall efforts to bring the military regime to account and have daily contact with other Chilean NGOs consisting of information sharing and evidence documentation. Rosas Vergara spoke about the importance of Pinochet's arrest, the work of the diaspora organisations and the associated media storm in highlighting the lack of judicial process for state sanctioned torture on political prisoners and the positive effect that this had in Chile on moving their agenda forward.

The arrest of General Pinochet in 1998 was a significant catalyst for the re-energising of the UK-based diaspora as indeed globally. The attempted prosecution of the dictator by Spanish judge, Baltasar Garzón, galvanised the exile community in the UK and their allies into renewed action, resulting in protests outside the Chilean Embassy and other sites for months (Ramírez, 2011, 2015). Collins has questioned the significance of these 'transnational networks' and how influential these external actors are on the process of domestic legal activism. She argues that domestic lawyers have been more successful than perhaps more internationally visible external efforts. This demonstrates the difficulty of quantifying the extent of local versus external activity but points to a similar trend shown in the data here, that post-1990, the diaspora landscape was drastically reconfigured and that collaboration 'has rarely survived into the present day in a sustained or well-resourced form' (Collins, 2006, p. 716). Ramírez's analysis of El Piquete de Londres (the picket of London) from the perspective of the UK diaspora demonstrated that not only did it become the central focus for a global movement, but in enabling 'the recreation of a repertoire that combined contention and commemoration, politics and emotions, as well as local and international domains' it became a dual site of reformulation and re-articulation of ties to both the UK and 'home' (Ramírez, 2012, p. 17). Despite this real inability to measure the relative success or impact of the action taken in this situation, I would argue that what matters for the purposes of this research is the diaspora's own perceptions of the importance of this period and their activities for them. It matters as it follows the research questions in seeking explanations around the framing of diaspora activities, and people's experiences of leaving Chile and the political legacy on their lives in diaspora, which requires understanding people's

perceptions. Juan Pablo spoke of the protests as ‘difficult’ and ‘frightening for those working in the Embassy and Consulate.’ In taking part, Andrea stressed that it represented ‘finally the chance to say out loud what we feel’ and for Michele, it was ‘the opportunity to show the world what that man did to us, he destroyed so many lives.’ Jaime’s feeling that ‘we needed people to understand what really happened in Chile and this was our chance’ came across very clearly through all the testimonies.

Activity has continued to flourish subsequent to events in 1998 and has reignited connection between UK activists and their counterparts in Chile. The protests and pickets that took place in support of student protests in Chile between 2011 and 2013 kept the pressure on and continued activity in the UK. On this particular issue, a broader section of diaspora took part with students, the second generation and a diverse group of actors joining those carrying on the exile struggle. The ‘Chile 40 Years On’ campaign in 2013 involved a plethora of activities including the *El Sueño Existe* festival (the biannual festival that takes place in Machynlleth), the continued efforts of the Justice for Victor campaign in collaboration with the Victor Jara Foundation in Chile, plus a contingent of newer, younger actors, particularly those marking the importance of this time with cultural contributions like *Hora Chilena*,⁷ *Crafting Resistance: The Art of Chilean Political Prisoners*⁸ and *Nae Pasaran!*⁹ The protests which broke out in Santiago in October 2019 were originally a response to a rise in the price of metro tickets in Chile and widened to encompass a movement against high levels of inequality and the cost of living. These too have been supported by the UK-based diaspora with large numbers of Chileans around the UK protesting on different occasions. What these protests and activities show, in their focus on events in Chile that affect Chileans everywhere, is that they are simultaneously transnational, political and justice-seeking, and they are also intrinsically developmental in their focus on improvement of the social

⁷ A 2013 film by Camila Iturra, Lautaro Vargas and Kip Loades about the Chilean exiles who settled in Cambridge.

⁸ A 2017 film by Carmen Luz Parot and Gloria Miqueles about how craftwork made by political prisoners during their internment in the 1970s by the military regime has contributed to the mental health and well-being of those involved, particularly following their exile to the UK.

⁹ A 2018 film directed by Felipe Bustos Sierra about workers at a Rolls-Royce factory in East Kilbride, Scotland, who refused to work on Chilean Air Force parts from 1974-78 due to the atrocities carried out by the Pinochet dictatorship.

and political environment for Chileans. The significance of all these activities lies not so much in the linking of UK and Chile directly or concretely through direct contact or the interactions between diaspora and local Chile based actors, though this does take place. It is often less tangible than that and perhaps here lies the particular problem with realising the true importance of these acts. It is important for diaspora themselves in ways that are sometimes difficult to express verbally, yet manifest through all these actions and experiences collectively. It is the creation of this transnational social diasporic space, a space made real by Brah's 'homing desire' (1996, p.193) and Page and Mercer's diasporic social practices (2012), that most diaspora members articulate indirectly when they speak of the reasons why they do the things they do. As Ramírez points out, El Piquete (but also other smaller events and happenings) are 'part of a crucial moment and space' (Ramírez, 2012, p. 17). The diasporic space is all of the things mentioned above, yet absolutely critically it is also a space of temporal significance. It is formed of a particular moment and time, but also in each occurrence, it brings together Chile and the UK in its present moment and its past form, through the inescapable legacy of the past.

8.2.2 Facilitating - in Times of Hope and Crisis

Many homeward links since the 1990s have had a facilitating role for Chileans thinking of moving to the UK and those that have made the leap. Key enablers amongst the diaspora have offered a bridge to 'home' or to the UK depending on where people are situated, by providing information and access to other Chileans as an information source. This facilitating role has been seen at various levels within diaspora, from the professional and business aspects seen in the Anglo Chilean Society through to the website and organisation Chilenos en el UK. This latter organisation was the first to be widely inclusive with its core aim of assisting people in moving to the UK. In Chilean terms, the breadth of people who migrate to the UK may fall within either category, spanning the range of social structures from the upper class, largely white people of Spanish origin through to people with backgrounds that include indigenous ethnic groups. Chilenos en el UK stemmed from Manuel's recognition of the difficulties that

many Chileans had in attempting to get accurate information of what life was like on the ground in the UK and he set the website up as a means for providing resources for friends and contacts. This has endured, having grown into a much larger enterprise which he runs on a purely voluntary basis. Other organisations like Comunidad Chile which sprang up later have performed a similar role in connecting people, providing information and resources, though their activities were part funded by DICOEX. Some of the exile organisations and the student ones also perform a facilitating role to lesser degrees, aimed at their membership. These types of organisations and the functions they provide are perceived by many diasporans as serving a core function of utility. If someone has a practical question about the cost of rent in London, how to access the medical system or where to find Chilean food, someone will provide an answer. Chilenos en el UK and Comunidad Chile both aimed to bypass division and be open to all however these spaces can become tense and conflicted at times, as people inevitably get drawn into political discussions. As well as practical information, there is a great deal of moral support and mutual comfort given, especially at times of uncertainty such as the potential impact of Brexit on Chileans working in the cleaning sector and similar workers in precarious circumstances. The real-world events that Chilenos en el UK hold every year, like barbecues in Hyde Park and the 18th of September celebrations, have had large numbers in attendance and provided a genuine means for people to connect. These organisations therefore have a dual role of equal importance in the lives of the diaspora and those who may one day become part of it. The links homeward are multiple and messy, spanning geographical space and joining life in the UK and Chile in its various dimensions, bringing a sense of hope for connection in those who take part.

Events of great significance in Chile like the 2010 earthquake which caused many deaths and immense destruction nationally or the Valparaiso fire of 2014 which destroyed thousands of houses, leaving approximately 11,000 people homeless, have a profound effect on the diaspora, most of whom still have family and friends in the country. Such behaviour has also been seen in other diasporas after natural disasters in homelands, like the Nepal earthquake of 2015, which saw increased remittance

behaviours that stemmed partially from a lack of trust in the government's capacity to act (Shivakoti, 2019). The emotional impact of such events on the diaspora is not to be underestimated, causing great concern and worry in the early hours after such events. The diaspora network is active in these situations with Chilenos en el UK providing on the ground news from Chile to those in diaspora who have not been able to contact relatives.

I spent weeks sending texts and emails and we created a website, a big one with telephone numbers and people said you can call me and I can walk around that area and I'll tell you what's the state of the street, so if you don't know anything about your family, maybe someone is in this area now. So, we spread the word and get the information.

Manuel (Male, 46, arrived 2004, married to British woman)

This kind of grassroots action with people on the ground in Chile connecting with people in the diaspora to provide real time critical information demonstrates the power and the potential of the transnational links that these organisations can generate. Similarly, the Haitian diaspora came together after the earthquake of 2010 and provided assistance in four main ways; event fundraisers, donations, volunteer labour and remittances (Sewordor et al., 2019). Manuel's position as a pivotal person in the Chilean diaspora scene has been a catalyst for a revival in diaspora connection since the heyday of the exile organisations. He is known by many different people in diverse circles and possesses extensive knowledge about the diaspora over the last twenty years. However, whilst he is open minded and willing to collaborate if others want to, he is not interested in the power struggles and political divisions that continue to dominate the landscape. For that reason, he prefers to retain his independence, not seeking funding from Chilean government sources like other diaspora organisations do. Those who accept funding from government no doubt realise that this will compromise their claims to independence in the eyes of some diaspora members, particularly those from exile backgrounds who view anything governmental with ongoing suspicion. The facilitators like Manuel, or Felipe and Camila from Comunidad Chile, clear the path to links back

'home' and to other Chileans in diaspora, and in doing so they make the transition to feeling 'at home' and living life in the UK an easier one. This is important to recognise and to register its true significance in contributing to that process of self-determination and self-development that several researchers have argued is critical to a nuanced understanding of what development means to diasporas, in terms of their own construct of it and its meaning in their personal lives, as well as in broader terms (Page and Mercer, 2012; Raghuram, 2009).

These situations and times of crisis have also proved to be a means of temporarily overcoming divisions with different groups pulling together and collaborating on assistance and fundraising to send to Chile. Isidora's comment illustrates that the moments she describes can do even more than this, creating spaces and times that transcend those divisions completely in that particular situation:

I was in London in the earthquake of 2010. This was in February. Everyone got together, Casa Chilena, Chilenos en el UK, Chilenos from I don't know where, ones from Cambridge - everyone got together and they did something. We went to the foot of the London Eye and we danced cueca, we played the guitar, we collected money, and we were all there. There, it didn't matter who was who. We made friends and made connections, chatted 'oh you're here, how long have you been here, 5 years? Oh, me too! I've never seen you!' And like that, we began to get to know each other. But those, those are the moments. Because it's very clear that on the 18th, you go to your own celebration, the John Cuevas one, el Amigo Artista. if you go to his thing, it's the ultra left.....if you go to the fonda Casa Chilena, you'll find people who are more of the old guard, relaxed, but not so 'red'. And if you go to Manuel's fonda, you know you'll be dancing cumbia with I don't know who.....and maybe a couple of cuecas. This is the difference. So, I have them all identified...but the day of the earthquake, all those different people came together. And so many people were there, it was really something amazing.

Isidora (Female, 36, teacher, arrived in England in 2000 and left in 2012)

This perspective shows the power of these moments in creating spaces where diaspora members from different cohorts have come together and been able to bypass their differences, overcoming the divisions that ordinarily separate them.

8.2.3 Development Work at 'Home'

The Chilean diaspora in the UK has engaged in what might be termed 'conventional' development activities in its homeland in limited and specific ways as it has not had many organisations that follow the Home Town Association format common in other diasporas (Orozco and Rouse, 2013; Orozco, 2003). The Anglo Chilean Society, focused as it is on business and personal contacts more at the upper-class end of society, does what it describes as 'charitable work' in support of a wide range of small organisations, NGOs and projects in Chile. The labelling of diaspora activities in this way reflects a common and implicit assumption about people's motivations to engage as opposed to the apparently neutral and planned development projects of professional development actors (Sinatti and Horst, 2015, p. 140). Many of these initiatives are indeed developmental in nature and the Anglo Chilean Society supports them with funding. A major force within the Chilean diaspora development arena is the powerhouse that is Daniel, highlighted in Chapter Six. Daniel has contributed hugely to UK-based diaspora efforts in this sphere, both through his work and influence within the Anglo Chilean Society and his own initiatives. Having set up his own development organisations in the field of education, his main passion, he has been able to garner support for these through his many contacts. The key to his intense levels of activity in so many different diaspora organisations lies in this belief:

You will get more reception if you're within. If I'm on the Committee and I bring a project forwards, it will be better accepted, it's not just somebody asking for some money. I think that is why I like to be involved in so many

things, because I feel that when you are within, you are able to change and do things better.

Daniel (Male, 60, businessman, arrived in 1982, married to British woman)

The organisations in Chile which are on the receiving end of these UK-based efforts understand that their existence depends on the sustained effort of Daniel to generate funds for their activities. His interest in La Calera and the surrounding region is personal as it is where he grew up and several family members still live. It is arguably a form of Home Town Association set up by one man to target his own home town and the particular issues there. Between setting up Gap Chile (sending UK gap year students to work in support of local development projects), the Elisa Educational Trust (enabling students to complete their studies), La Semilla (a nursery for disadvantaged children), providing start-up money for small enterprises and supporting the local Red Cross through the provision of equipment and supplies, Daniel has tackled a range of co-existing problems in one area. Having his own successful business in England has enabled Daniel to allocate part of the company income to these development projects, though he has also raised funds with partners for certain initiatives. The Head of the Red Cross in La Calera has known him for a number of years and explained that his straightforward approach has concrete benefits for them:

He comes with his wife to see what we need and he just gets things done. If we need furniture or chairs, he will listen and give us the money directly or provide them. If we have to go through the central office (of the Red Cross) things get more complicated and don't always materialise, but Daniel makes things happen quickly.

Head of the Red Cross, La Calera

This was confirmed by Daniel's niece who runs the Elisa and Gap Chile initiatives, who is in frequent contact with other family members and collaborators in the vicinity and the UK. Having his own family members involved in his activities denotes an overlap between his development ambitions and more personal links. The UK-based company

and people that drive all this work are a key feature today in the La Calera area, well-known and relied upon for their continued support. There is little doubt that much of Daniel's motivation can be explained by the Christian ethos which he and his wife continue to practice. However, the religious underpinning is matched by the long-term aim of seeing Chile develop and grow by helping those most in need of support to thrive. He emphasised several times during our conversation how important it is to him to maintain active links with Chile and how he seeks to promote and support Chile in everything he does. In a sense, Daniel has been a one man diaspora and development sensation, directing energy and funds to where it has been most needed at critical times. He epitomises the powerful type of diaspora member with connections everywhere, eyes on the ground and the ability to marshal support from many quarters to achieve his aims. He is the sort of person that programmes focused on diaspora and country of origin development want to find and utilise, being the very definition of a charismatic leader who can bring their vision to life, similar to those seen operating to incredible effect with street children in Brazil (Swift, 1997). Daniel often relies on family members in Chile to oversee projects and check that funds are being used correctly, as he cannot to do so himself. His achievements are remarkable and span over thirty years living in the UK, reflecting the person he is; someone with seemingly unflagging energy prepared to work with all types of people tirelessly to achieve his aims. The long view taken here gives us an appreciation of the longevity of this particular set of development projects, the consistency of his approach and the ability to re-shape and re-configure in accordance with the times and the need. Time has interplayed here with individual and collective effort in a display of transnational activity spanning decades.

A particularly interesting feature of the organisational landscape in development terms was the identification of the transnational links in reverse to that commonly seen in diasporas. A key Chilean development NGO, Techo, opened a small office in London in 2014 and was actively courting the diaspora there as opposed to the focus coming from the diaspora towards Chile. Techo works in about 20 countries in Latin America on overcoming poverty in slums through improving the built environment, community development, promoting social awareness and political advocacy. The interview I

carried out with one of their staff members brought up some interesting questions around why they had chosen to open an office in the UK. The opening of the office occurred on the advice of the Boston Consulting Group to set up a European base from which to apply for international funding and to raise awareness in the region. However, on probing deeper, it transpired Techo was seeking to develop links with the UK-based diaspora, using contacts there to provide introductions to potential funders, corporate partnerships and a way into influential British circles, as Alvaro explained:

Here for us, it's very easy to use our network from Latin America. For example, we know all the Ambassadors of all the Latin American countries here in the UK, we know who the main investors are, Chilean investors living in the UK. We know also the Chilean organisations that are established in the UK and for us it's very easy to work with them in order to start working with UK society.

Alvaro (Male, 30, Techo employee, arrived in 2014)

This situation is quite opposite to the diaspora development view of diaspora where diasporas are the proactive starting point for action (Newland and Patrick, 2004; Orozco, 2006; Portes, 2009) or state generated focused interventions on their country of origin (Gamlen, 2014a). Instead of what is often perceived as simply a sender and receiver relationship from diaspora to 'home' country, this scenario offers an interesting and alternative analysis of globally operating networks which home in on identified opportunities, in this case amongst the UK-based diaspora. Here, locations are more dispersed than a binary relationship from 'home' to 'host' and demonstrate that there are not only national notions of development at play but also transnational ones.

Many people interviewed from the different cohorts discussed the development path Chile has undergone and its relationship to politics. They related this development path to the issues Chile is faced with today, highlighting high levels of inequality as a major issue. Of all the groups today, the students are most actively concerned with debating these issues and looking at possible ways forward. The high levels of inequality

compared with other OECD countries are a source of concern and focus for many of the postgraduates. Several people spoke of degrees of development which is commensurate with the fact that whilst Chile is today considered a high-income country and therefore 'developed', it still lacks the capacity to deal with basic needs such as poverty, healthcare and access to water amongst other major issues. As already identified, poverty and inequality concerns relate closely to one of the stated aims of Becas Chile which is to contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of Chile and could be partly related to the selection of subjects studied and the awarding of grants. However, the students themselves pinpoint a concern with development continually in both personal and professional terms. These concerns are reflected in the aims of the Chilean student organisations, ChileGlobal and REUK. These explicitly state that contributing to the development of Chile is a principal aim, borne out by the many events, seminars and lectures on a range of development issues. This section has analysed the series of transnational links between the UK diaspora and Chile which are directly framed as developmental by the diaspora. In deliberately seeking to influence outcomes in various settings and carrying with them the exertion of power, these links are intrinsically political in nature, much like the solidarity and justice links and the facilitating links discussed earlier, and the artistic and cultural links that we will move onto now.

8.2.4 Artistic and Cultural Connections to 'Home'

Artistic and cultural endeavours amongst the Chilean diaspora have been important since the early days in the 1970s for a variety of different and temporally significant reasons. Solidarity efforts harnessed the use of the arts to drive fundraising efforts in support of awareness-raising of the Chilean situation and assisting back 'home'. Dancing *cueca*, making *empanadas* and singing folk songs served the dual purpose of highlighting features of Chilean culture to compel interest and engagement on the issues at stake and allowing people to feel a connection to 'home' by re-creating those diasporic spaces that transcend reality. These acts also attempted to bring these cultural icons back under the ownership of ordinary Chileans who resented attempts by

Pinochet to co-opt them for his own purposes (Knudsen, 2001, p. 68). Dancing *cueca* has played a central role in the evocation of 'home' and a sense of place among Chilean diasporas all over the world. Even though for many, *cueca* was not part of their lives in Chile, Knudsen has shown that it forms part of diaspora space creation amongst the Oslo diaspora in attempts to recreate their lost homeland (Knudsen, 2001). This phenomenon is also seen in the UK diaspora, many of whom had not been particularly fond or familiar with the *cueca* before leaving Chile. However, the regular use of *cueca* and other folk-dance forms to create a Chilean ambience, together with other emblems of 'Chilean-ness', combine to create a spell of time and space that transcends the geographical reality of being present at a dance class in a North London pub.

...the emotion I feel when I listen to a cueca or watch someone dance a cueca....or listening to Violeta Parra or Victor Jara.....is as if it feels so much part of me, so much part of my life.....

Valentina (Female, 50, teacher now working as a cleaner, arrived in 2013)

This is, perhaps, a romanticised notion felt by people caught up in those moments that are generated in multiple spaces across the UK. It is easy to overlook the ambiguities and tensions of the symbol of *cueca* in its different dimensions including as a political tool or emblem of the widows of the disappeared (*la cueca sola*). These moments (which to outsiders what may seem like a paltry collection of flags, food and old folk music) could be perceived as a pseudo memory or evocation of Chile itself and the reality of life there. However, even to those who have not had the lived experience of life in Chile such as many second or third generation Chileans, these diasporic spaces seem to manage to create that sense of belonging and connection that many of the diaspora want. Knudsen found that the dramatic social changes undergone by immigrants were key to understanding the importance of the *cueca* in creating a common point of reference - their link to Chile (Knudsen, 2001). Scolieri notes the perfect symbolism of the *cueca*, being a partner dance where men and women do not touch at all, their movements merely mirror each other. It is 'an ideal dance for an exiled community moving in relation to yet distanced from its homeland' (Scolieri, 2007, p. viii).

In seeking out and creating these opportunities over the last fifty years, many diaspora members have shown that they do indeed want to continue to do these things, things that make up part of the 'stuff' that diasporas do (Page and Mercer, 2012) and that these practices retain their importance and centrality in their link to Chile.

In recent years, these pursuits have been celebrated as cultural icons of importance in their own right. There were countless examples, evidenced in the fieldwork, of artists from Chile, tours, collaborations, musical and cultural events held in a variety of locations. There were books written by the Chilean women's poetry group in London and published in Chile. Dance groups practised traditional, sometimes rare form of folk dances to share with British and international audiences. Funds were frequently generated in the UK or through grants obtained from the Consul to bring artists over to perform.

Getting into Facebook more and more, I've been linking with artists and organisations, and we share things like musical groups or dance groups. I share in my page or try to promote them, they help me to promote what is Chilean culture - part of the work I do here, so it's not just what I do personally but also what other artists do, so I can champion their work through social media.

Rodrigo (Male, 47, dancer and teacher, arrived 2004, married to British woman)

Musiko Musika is a musical education organisation based in the UK with Chilean roots since 1998. Today, a widely respected authority in this field throughout the UK, it still maintains core links with Chile through the delivery of projects there using music to deliver their social and cultural mission. Similar to other community music projects, they have connections to local, national and international organisations that give an additional dimension to their work (Higgins and Bartleet, 2012). The projects in Chile create developmental impacts in local areas for participants, strengthening teacher capacity and supporting schools, teaching English skills and providing buddy schemes

and international collaboration between schools in the UK and Chile. The Ensemble Transatlántico, mentioned by several interviewees, is another organisation with similar aims though based in Chile. Set up in 2012, their youthful membership comprises musicians from several countries, including many Chilean music students in Chile and overseas, aiming to connect people and share their knowledge of Chilean music internationally. Their link with the UK stemmed from the founder's connection with a Chilean singer based in Scotland made through the internet in 2007. Since then, the group has toured the UK several times, forging strong relationships with UK-based Chilean musicians and artists, academics in musicology and playing various venues including the Instituto Cervantes and the Chilean Embassy. The founder spoke of the importance of these relationships in opening up avenues for the Ensemble which are difficult to access in Chile. He spoke about the pivotal role played by two Chilean UK-based academics who have connected them to the world of academic music:

I studied at university, and I am a music teacher and the academic study of music interests me greatly. These relationships have allowed us to access another world which we were not well connected with in Chile, because the music we play is from the streets and we are classically trained but for us, this barrier does not exist.

Ensamble Transatlantico Founder

This comment shows the importance of the transnational connections for the Ensemble. The links to the UK have opened doors and enabled experiences and opportunities that otherwise they would not have had. These transnational links have a facilitating effect in both directions, a feature of this particular type of link since the 1970s. The Chilean artists that come to the UK have had a ready audience in the diaspora and by dint of their audiences' wider connections, are then exposed to other people outside Chilean circles. Artists who have directed their efforts from the UK towards Chile, in support of particular social or political projects over the last fifty years, have been able to create local impacts in Chile with concrete results. The artistic links complete this section on

organisational links which has looked in turn at transnational links of solidarity, of facilitating and of development.

8.3 State-Led Institutional Links to Chile

Amidst the tangled web of personal and organisational links that criss-cross backwards and forwards between Chile and the UK both now and over the last half century, there also exists a set of state mandated institutions and links, defined as formal offices of state focused on emigrants and their descendants (Gamlen, 2014a, 2019) which seek to incorporate the diaspora within its operations. Although these are not the primary focus of this research, which forefronts the diaspora perspective, it is important to understand the context in which the diaspora operates. The Chilean state institutions have been set up against a backdrop of global interest in the creation of such institutions since the 2000s, seeking to coordinate and actively incorporate diasporas within the reach of their 'home' country governments (Agunias and Newland 2012; Gamlen, 2014a). Often portrayed as a form of 'migration policy best practice', it is increasingly evident that there can be a gap between their stated aims and underlying agendas (Gamlen, 2019, p. 49). In Chile, these government initiatives have taken different forms at different times, but with a common goal of identifying members of the diaspora and maintaining their connection with Chile. These have manifested through their official representatives in the UK at the Chilean Embassy and Consulate though in recent years they have also operated through other channels. It is no coincidence that interest in forging a productive relationship with its diaspora emerged in Chile concurrently with expanding global attention. There is little literature on ChileGlobal and other players in this area, save for a couple of pieces from the Migration Policy Institute, the UN and Malecki's (2017) thesis. The author of a UN book chapter on ChileGlobal, Molly Pollack, is by no means an independent impartial analyst. She was, in fact, the Director of ChileGlobal from 2005 to 2010 and the Executive Director from 2010 to 2014. Her chapter on the ChileGlobal programme lays out the rationale for the programme and explains the mechanisms by which it operates and how it connects to other Chilean government departments and public-private partnerships.

ChileGlobal was envisaged as a type of elite diaspora programme and was originally a part of Fundación Chile, an economic development organisation. It was set up as a pilot programme in conjunction with the World Bank's Knowledge for Development Programme to build a network of highly skilled Chilean business entrepreneurs and operators living in the US and Canada, to have a beneficial impact on Chilean economic development, in particular by 'transferring technology and know-how, as well as indirectly, by influencing public policies and other aspects of the institutional innovation system' (Pollack, 2013, p. 213). This is similar to what other countries have done in focusing on elite and highly skilled diaspora members looking for professional opportunities, for example the Nigerians in Diaspora Organization set up in 2001 (Lampert, 2009). The recognition of 'a Chilean talent elite' overseas was recognised as being 'among the assets that Chile can mobilize to support national development' (Pollack, 2013, p. 215-216). ChileGlobal left Fundación Chile in 2009 and has since then been less effective in converting diaspora interest into actual action in Chile (Kuznetsov and Freinkman, 2013). It is unclear when ChileGlobal started operating in the UK as much of the original data is no longer present on the web and domains that were active from 2012-2018 are no longer so. Organisations have been branded and re-branded and today ChileGlobal is known as ChileGlobal Ventures but it is clear that the original aim of harnessing elite networks in diaspora still remains. Amongst the diaspora during the fieldwork period, the most obvious manifestation of ChileGlobal's continued operation was with the students. As previously outlined, the funding of student activities by ChileGlobal was actively focused on promoting interest in and engagement with development issues (Malecki, 2017).

Agunias (2009) from the Migration Policy Institute examined Chile's diaspora focus in comparison to that of others, including Mexico. At the time of Agunias' analysis, the Office for Chileans Abroad, part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Office for Consular and Immigration Services operated at the subministry level and the Interministerial Committee for Chilean Communities Abroad at the national level. The latter was made up of twelve public institutions looking after the needs of Chileans overseas and responsible for developing public policies on the diaspora. Agunias notes

that full programmes of diaspora engagement need the creation of institutions abroad as well as at 'home', linking people to 'home' through information services and programmes focused on culture, education and economic development (Agunias, 2009). Through interviews with government representatives in Chile and the UK, it was evident that this is indeed what was happening.

It is of note that Agunias assesses the Chilean government's mandate as being explicitly developmental, in line with my own assessment based on the series of interviews carried out with government officials and evidence gathered throughout this research. This is driven by the ideological vision stemming from expectations led by international organisations including the Institute of Migration and the World Bank which sets diaspora and development within their neo-liberal framework. This assessment strengthens the position I have argued, namely that notwithstanding the fact that Chile is considered to be a highly developed country today, development is still high on the agenda both within government and outside it. Development has been high on the agenda throughout the last fifty years, from all quarters, albeit couched in a variety of terms and changing in line with different political priorities. One key area of concern has been the innovation environment, given that Chile's performance has been considered low by the OECD compared with other countries of similar income levels (Pollack, 2013). Moreover, the fact that Agunias maintains that the Chilean mandate is more explicitly developmental than that of Mexico is interesting. She bases this on the fact that Chile's Office for Chileans Abroad main purpose is not only to attend to the 'demands and needs of communities of Chilean residents abroad' but also to 'encourage their participation in national development' (Agunias, 2009, p. 8). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Mexico is one of the main countries researched in relation to diaspora and development and their government has specific and unmistakeable policies in support of this such as the 3-for-1 programme, as is well known. Yet, little is mentioned in the literature about Chilean government policies on diaspora and development however, the Chilean government has made development and diaspora a key part of its overseas policies since 2005, and possibly earlier.

Having looked at the state institutions created by the Chilean government in the goal of increasing diaspora engagement in the service of development overall, we will move onto a recent programme which specifically targets a key development goal (investment in tertiary education and acquisition of human capital) and has simultaneously caused an influx of new diaspora members to the UK as identified earlier: the postgraduate students. Becas Chile represents one of the most recent attempts to increase human capital in Chile and generate a talent pool that will return to Chile to contribute to the development of the country (Malecki, 2017). It is administered by CONICYT, one of the original players in the ChileGlobal programme and continues the goal, begun by ChileGlobal, of improving the talent pool in Chile to increase inward innovation and investment. DICOEX is another key department for diaspora relations with objectives of promoting the interchange of ideas on civil, political and social rights and facilitating a dialogue between Chileans overseas and those in Chile. One of its stated aims is 'Promover su inclusión en el quehacer del país y su proyecto de desarrollo' which means to promote their (the diaspora's) involvement in country matters and its development project. The Consul was open about his remit to create and maintain links with the parts of the diaspora that interested the state, namely the students and business people. It was noticeable that those efforts excluded the exile community although he did attend the Casa Chilena 18th September celebration. The main group of exiles are separate to these endeavours to bring Chileans together in the UK with only a few willing to participate in these more inclusive and forward-looking events. This is a similar situation as the Nigerian and Ghanaian cases where particular elements of the diaspora are targeted and others very much avoided (Lampert, 2009; Mohan, 2008). Development is frequently used as a unifying idea to drive engagement rather than using language that may be understood as more overtly political. However, these attempts to engage some while bypassing others is a political act which implicitly references the past in the very deliberate avoidance of it. This is an original contribution to the area around how temporality plays into state projects of diaspora engagement. Like others of his generation, the Consul was enthusiastic about organisations like Comunidad Chile which sought to reflect a modern Chile. Several interviewees highlighted the image of 'modern Chile' that they claim the government likes to portray

internationally, a Chile that is forward-looking, dynamic, a player on the international stage, a world class travel destination and most definitely, a Chile that has left its complicated past behind. The exiles do not fit comfortably with this image that state organisations like ChileGlobal, DICOEX and Becas Chile are aiming to create. The UK-based diaspora is seen as having immense potential for development, but only the parts of the diaspora that fit with state ideas of the type of development they want to generate.

At the time of carrying out fieldwork in the UK (2014-2015), Chileans abroad became eligible to vote, and in the 2017 presidential elections, 39,136 Chileans overseas were eligible. On October 25th 2020, Chileans abroad were finally able to vote on the referendum to approve or reject the drafting of a new Constitution (Government of Chile, 2020). Much effort had been made by the Consul and his staff to get people to register officially by carrying out a survey. Some diasporans believe that previous efforts to grant the vote to Chileans abroad had been stymied by right-wing members of government who did not want exile communities outside Chile to be eligible. Other country governments have also been concerned about ‘garnering the right sort of political support’ (Mohan, 2008, p. 464) as evidence shows the real-world impact of transnational migrant political participation on national politics (Itzigsohn and Villacrés, 2008).

The right always opposed it because they knew it was mainly left-wing people and so to vote, you had to have papers showing you had been in Chile for two or three years. They made it difficult. Now it has become possible with the new Congress. But it took a lot to achieve it. It is important to keep what feels Chilean.

Isidora (Female, 36, teacher, arrived in England in 2000 and left in 2012)

This view was also shared by right-wing interviewees:

Granting of the vote abroad is super politicised in Chile anyway because if they open up voting in the exterior with all the exiles abroad, it's more votes for the left, so this vote is very politicised.

Dulcima (Female, 42, housewife, arrived in 1996 with Chilean husband, strongly Catholic and right-wing)

Bolzman confirms this belief of the right-wing parties but also notes that people of all political colours wanted the right to vote (Bolzman, 2011). The UK diasporans interviewed were mostly in favour of voting, though a couple felt it was not their place to influence politics at 'home' given that they were now resident and living their lives elsewhere. For the most part, the ability to vote was seen as a momentous step forward and a recognition of emigrant rights that was long overdue.

8.4 Conclusion

This Chapter has analysed the multiple links that the diaspora has to Chile in various dimensions. The research question which asks, 'what activities and practices has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged in and how have these been framed, particularly in relation to concepts of development and politics?' has been addressed to a significant degree and will be expanded upon in the next chapter. To understand how the activities and practices of diaspora have been framed, consideration was given to the relations between diaspora and 'home'. The previous chapter identified interactions within the diaspora as a locus of both togetherness and division in past and present times, showing how these provide the basis for action. The uneven terrain that has emerged from the socio-political context of each era has had a corresponding effect on the activities and interests of organised diaspora. The multitude of links that connect 'home' to 'host' country is ever-changing, responsive to context and temporality. It emerges clearly from this analysis that the reasons for these links and the way that they are framed by the diaspora is always context dependent and that the re-shaping of these interests and re-articulation of them in different terms has been a constant factor. It is also clear however that these re-formulations are different versions of similar goals in a

newer guise. I have shown how the personal, organisational and institutional links emerge from different places and with different motives and that whilst many of these do not necessarily fit a stereotypical view of being developmental, equally, given a more open and nuanced approach to what development means, many of them also do.

Here, I have shown that the legacy of past political conflict affects the framing of diaspora activities. Solidarity has been the language of exile and diaspora politics for decades and it has taken the gradual influence of global attention to development along with a re-education of younger generations to absorb a different language. Social justice is part of a bigger approach to development. Life in diaspora has been and still is intensely political and much as some may seek to move away from this, the evidence shows how difficult this is in practice to achieve. We see enduring continuities like exiles being bypassed in recent government outreach or old political divisions still influencing which groups interact with each other. I will discuss in detail how the relationship between the diaspora and the development of Chile has been inter-connected from the beginning of the 1970s up till the present, and more importantly, how notions of politics and development in times of conflict and of peace continue to play a major role in people's lives. These things are not abstract concepts to those in the UK diaspora, even among the younger generations who have not lived through the days of political turmoil. As part of the UK diaspora, Chileans are thrust into an environment different to that back 'home', where the past infuses the present with its memories and the image of modern successful Chile contains significant cracks. These cracks within Chile's image and within the diaspora itself point to the wider problems of the diaspora development narrative, a narrative that tells only one part of the story. The diaspora development narrative of the Chileans in the UK is its own very distinctive story which has its own unique contribution to make.

Chapter Nine
Different Developments of Diaspora:
A Fluid Landscape of Happenstance and Intentionality

I have moved through the essential stages of identifying who makes up the Chilean diaspora in the UK today since its beginnings in the 1970s, to looking at the different cohorts within the diaspora, their organisations and activities as well as those who live quite separately to these collective behaviours. I have traced the complexities and basis of division, looking at where the diaspora comes together and where they are separate. Understanding these vital factors has enabled us to understand their transnational links back and forth to Chile in their different dimensions, personal, organisational and state led, before finally moving on to the core of the aftermath of the dictatorship and the ongoing consequences of this for those living in diaspora. These important new understandings and evidence gained through the juxtaposition of new and old diasporans, brought to light for the first time in the UK, have led us to the point of being able now to set their actions in their rightful context. The changing history and political sensibility that is seen throughout, enable us to assess what and how the diaspora has contributed to the development of their 'home' country from their own perspective.

The previous chapter provided detailed analysis of the Chilean diaspora in the UK and their links to Chile. It focused on the research question of, 'what activities and practices has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged in and how have these been framed, particularly in relation to concepts of development and politics?' This revealed a wealth of diverse connections that span the UK and Chile in multiple manifestations, from individual, organisational and state directed which have changed over the years. These links have been assessed to discover what they mean to the people who carry them out, to seek out the motivations that lie behind them and the meaning that they carry. To understand this fully, we must relate this to the ongoing historical legacy of political contestation that still shapes the diaspora experience. The political is inherent to the developmental, rather than separate categories. This contestation is the bedrock which underpins and colours life as a Chilean in the past and today, so any analysis of

diaspora and development must be sited within this framework. Building on this analysis and knowledge, this chapter delves deeper into answering the overarching research question of the extent to which the Chilean diaspora has engaged with 'home' and whether their transnational practices can be seen as developmental. I will argue that the development of Chile and the diaspora of Chile are inextricably linked and have a clear effect on each other in multiple ways. Like any long relationship, the ground beneath has been unstable and shifting, causing long bouts of uncertainty and periods of calm along with moments of euphoria and achievement. Moreover, the relationship between the two is complex to unravel and responsive to changing times. I will show how the development trajectory of Chile in different periods has had direct impact on the diaspora and correspondingly, how the diaspora has been involved in the development of Chile through diverse channels.

As shown in Chapter Eight, the web of activities and diaspora links to Chile have been framed in multiple ways according to the socio-political and spatial context of the time depending on the lens one looks through, or whether looking from Chile or the UK. I will build on this analysis to show how development as both concept and political project has played a key role in diaspora life from afar. The diaspora has engaged in development in various ways and with varying levels of success. To argue that the Chilean diaspora has played a major role in the development of Chile would be seen by many as a gross overstatement, who attribute this development purely to economic policies instigated under the dictatorship and I do not seek to attempt a comprehensive rebuttal of this perspective. However, as argued in Chapter Two, this limited and narrow view of development fails to incorporate an awareness of its multiple dimensions that I, and many others, argue are essential (Page & Mercer, 2012; Sen, 1999). Sen argues that development 'consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency' (Sen, 1999, p. xii) and which necessitates inclusion of human rights and specific fundamental freedoms in economic, political and social terms in order to function properly. The originality of analysis here lies in this broad view of development changing over time

and the juxtaposition of different parts of the diaspora which bring out differences in approach.

As argued in Chapter Two and Three, development needs to be understood in the broadest of terms to provide a nuanced picture of the complex relationship between Chile and its diaspora. This recognises that development is inherently a political term with a multitude of meanings but importantly, the definition here includes positive social change, civil society participation, justice, equality and peace. Without this sensibility, one risks limiting understanding of Chilean development to a series of economic policy decisions taken by the dictatorship and subsequent democratic governments. One also risks viewing the actions of the diaspora without situating them within their proper historical and socio-political context. By pinpointing motivations and meaning behind actions taken and objectives laid out, we can fully appreciate why some things are done the way they are.

These dimensions of development in all their diversity are outlined and borne out by the data collected and discussed in the previous chapters. What the Chilean case demonstrates is the many, perhaps less obvious but often highly revealing ways that diaspora can and does contribute to the development of its homeland. It also shows that the Chilean development course has more to it than is typically acknowledged by the mainstream in its selective focus on economic concerns (Battiston et al., 2013; López and Miller, 2008; Olavarria-Gambi, 2003). A key example of state-led diaspora intervention (ChileGlobal) has had a limited amount of success which needs to be set in context alongside other Chilean diaspora development initiatives. Overall, the notion that entered development mainstream circles around the 2000s that celebrated the transformative effects of diaspora on development at 'home' is countered here and I argue that each case is far more complex and nuanced than this simplistic and narrow perspective. The Chilean case demonstrates the need to site efforts within their history and context, broadening how development is seen and understood. In doing so, it shows how a diaspora evolves over time, how the different parts of diaspora conduct different types of development in response to changing circumstances and how the

diaspora development dynamic in this case parallels the course of Chilean development from a lower income country to a high-income country.

9.1 From Directed Development to Diverse Development

The legacy of historical and political contestation and its continued avoidance sets the context for understanding the dynamism of diaspora-development linkages that will be analysed here. The development of Chile over the last fifty years cannot be divorced from the context in which it took place. The achievements and failings of this period look different depending on one's perspective. Celebrations of state-led economic achievements must be considered alongside the views of those who development has failed in seeking an inclusive view of Chile's development journey. This reinforces the vital importance of centering analysis around a wide interpretation of what development means, as argued in Chapter Two. This broad definition of development as identified incorporates freedom, equality, justice, human development, human rights, participation and peace alongside, and given equal importance as, measures of economic development, GDP and poverty reduction. Thinking of development as a political process in the Chilean case means considering the power dynamics of who has done what to whom and when. If development is about achieving positive social change to allow people to fulfil their human potential, it is evident that state directed development during the dictatorship did this for some of the population but actively denied it to others. Thus, using the broadest of definitions of development leads to an appreciation of development in all its diversity throughout this time period; development of the nation as a political project, development effects on diaspora, development by the diaspora, development within diaspora and development of the diaspora itself.

Chile and its diaspora have had a complex relationship of multifarious elements. For a country that has ostensibly achieved 'developed' status, the Chilean state today retains a significant focus on policies that seek to improve the country's development status. Moreover, for a country that people may perceive as not in need of development interventions, there persists much interest and discussion of development in agendas

within the country. It is undoubtedly true that Chile is not at the same level of development need as lower income countries, but this does not disqualify it from a developmental focus or interest. Those aspects of developed status that other countries with a longer and sustained democratic tradition possess, Chile needs to claim to achieve genuine development in the widest sense. The narrow focus on low-income countries as those of interest in the diaspora development field negates the importance of recognising degrees of development. These incremental stages and components matter greatly in a country's development trajectory. In Chile, some missing pieces remaining include lessening the wealth gap, social and political justice, civil society participation, equal access to health care and education and the recognition of human rights (López and Miller, 2008; Somma et al., 2020). Until these become a fundamental part of the Chilean landscape, development remains an appropriate way to discuss and approach these issues. This fits with the argument in Chapter Two that development is relevant to all countries, whatever their status, particularly as increasing inequality within countries is of key interest today.

9.2 Different Developments and their Effects on Diaspora

Here, I will briefly trace the temporal trajectory of development as a state led project in Chile, under Allende, Pinochet and in the post dictatorship context, primarily in relation to active diaspora engagement policies. This reveals the nuances of Chile's development over time, essential to my argument that Chile's diaspora and development paradigm demonstrates different factors at work than in the classic one, and that the political dimensions of development need to be given greater attention in diaspora and development thinking. The following section turns to looking at the development of Chile through the eyes of the diaspora. I have argued that development needs to be viewed in the Chilean context through an appropriately broad lens. I also argue now that understanding of the relationship between development and the political processes in Chile that brought about significant social change and unrest in the years preceding the coup and after, must be seen not only in terms of left-wing versus right-wing agendas, but in terms of differing visions of development itself. The build up

towards the coup in 1973 was largely a reaction to the election of the socialist President, Salvador Allende. Allende's vision for Chile centred around the implementation of a programme of radical economic politics that would bring about wide-scale social change (Pedraza-Bailey, 1982). On the basis of the development definition being used here, Allende's approach was a political statement of development intent for Chile. It was a state-led development programme designed to tackle the problems of the day with a commitment to democratic socialism at its core (Figueroa Clark, 2013a). Allende laid out his personal and political commitments to political freedom, the road to socialism and the development of institutions from the beginning of his period in office. An integral part of this vision was the nationalisation of the means of production, namely iron, textiles, nitrates and the copper industry and significant land reform (Goldberg, 1975). He believed in increasing and institutionalising the means of participation for the people, both horizontally and vertically and ensuring a fairer distribution of income (Figueroa Clark, 2013a, 2013b). Allende's development vision involved a wholesale restructure of Chilean politics and economics to provide a just and equitable future with access to decent healthcare and education for all. The extent of these reforms alarmed the right wing, internal and external observers which linked to the backdrop of the Cold War and fears over the spread of socialism, led ultimately to the coup that took place on September 11, 1973. The military government which replaced Allende's, swiftly replaced the latter's vision for Chile with an equally radical one of their own.

Chile has been a site for experimentation and uniqueness in development visions. On one side, there is Allende's democratically elected socialist government and its policies of reform and social equity. On the other, there is General Pinochet's Chicago boys and innovative economic policies implemented in a climate of brutality (Martínez and Díaz, 1996). State imposed development in the 1970s in these different forms was directly related to the small numbers of outward migrations of those opposed to Allende's politics, followed by the large-scale numbers who were exiled or fled after the coup. Competing visions of development was thus a core reason for the formation of the Chilean diaspora worldwide and in the UK. The military regime set the stage for a tightly

controlled and directed type of development that they carried out until 1990, effectively the opposite of Allende's vision. Arguably, the neoliberal dictatorship, a form of narrow development ideology and practice without civil society participation, presaged the move towards Thatcherism and Structural Adjustment. In disappearing and exiling their opponents, the regime created a climate of fear, allowing them to enact their programme of reforms without contestation or engagement due to their power over the populace. In this sense, the development programme rolled out by Pinochet's government was a political process based on an illegitimate claiming of power and enabled by illegal acts of torture and repression. It was certainly effective but by no means inclusive, participatory or empowering. Arguments that Chile's development was largely a success during this period ignore the multiple, essential aspects of development that go beyond mere economics.

Following the reestablishment of democracy, the Chilean state has continued its progress towards achieving developed status. In recent years, it has capitalised on the realisation that active links with the diaspora can benefit Chile and contribute to the realisation of this goal. Diaspora is also seen as a potential source of support for political parties. If particular governments think the diaspora is likely to be supportive of it, the more likely they are to engage it, a significant shift from the attitude towards exiles under the dictatorship until 1990. Policies to engage and maintain links with diaspora have taken multiple forms as previously outlined, but all share the common goal of utilising the diaspora to best effect in benefiting Chile. Behind this publicly stated goal is likely to lie a narrower political benefit involved in driving it. The state has developed a specific discourse relating to Chileans overseas, calling them the fourteenth region of Chile (Bolzman, 2011). Various initiatives designed to capture and harness the development benefits of this 'region' have been discussed in the previous chapter. State interest in the diaspora lies squarely on those perceived to offer the most to their country of origin, the professional elites and of course, the government funded scholarship beneficiaries. As Doña Revenco and Mullan have argued, '[t]he sole idea of migration's contribution to development is to focus on what high income or highly educated migrants might contribute'; in other words, narrow and 'more conventional pre-

1990s understandings of economic development' in state constructions of national development (Doña Reveco and Mullan, 2014, p. 6-7). The creation of ChileGlobal and Becas Chile are the main initiatives which exemplify this type of approach (Malecki, 2017). The Chilean government explicitly ties the ongoing development of Chile to its grants for postgraduate study, related to the condition of OECD membership that Chile should invest in the continued upgrading of their postgraduate pool of talent. This requirement and the rule that all grant recipients must return to Chile for a period twice as long as the course studied, reflects the need to make practical use of those newly acquired skills which the government has funded. The Chilean government has had a keen eye on their overseas diaspora with the potential to deliver development benefits for the last twenty years with their representatives in the UK actively focused on maintaining those links.

9.3 Diaspora Effects on Development

This section turns to an examination of what development has meant to diasporans over the last fifty years to assess the extent to which the Chilean diaspora has engaged with 'home' and whether their transnational practices can be seen as developmental, to answer the principal research question. This includes probing the question of different sites of development aside from the nation-state.

9.3.1 Development in the Dictatorship Years

As described in Chapter Six, a host of organisational activities took place framed within a claim for consensus around the illegality of what had taken place in Chile. In the context of the times and the exile background of left-wing politics, these activities came under the banner of solidarity, perceived by many exiles as a type of development initiative. Exilic reconstructions of political alliances in fighting the regime transnationally with the hope of returning and restoring democracy was a central focus (Hirsch, 2012; Serpente, 2015). This aspect of exile engagement, framed in the language of solidarity and justice prevalent at the time, is a direct component of diaspora involvement with

development. The tools and skills of political activism that many possessed, fostered under the enabling environment of the early 1970s in Allende's Chile, were carried into exile (Gómez-Barris, 2009). Facilitated and often joined in partnership by their hosts and sympathisers in Britain, the exiles organised a systematic transnational effort to alert the international community to the situation in Chile and galvanise support to get rid of Pinochet and his regime (Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). Another key need was to raise money for the awareness campaign, and in support of Chilean-based organisations like the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, who were fighting daily battles on the ground in support of families with 'disappeared' or imprisoned loved ones. The reinstatement of democracy and restoring the lost development vision was the overall long-term aim.

I contend that these activities constitute an essential component of the overall development of Chile. Without them, Chile would have developed economically under the auspices of General Pinochet's policies, but other fundamentally human aspects of a more inclusive and fair development would have been lost along the way. Many exiles, together with the second generation and other newer diasporans, have maintained attention on the need for these issues to be addressed within Chilean society to this day. The solidarity activities of the Chilean diaspora in the UK in collaboration with other Chileans globally were essential in providing an external dimension to the development of their country, one that they were not allowed to do from within. Supporting Mohan and Zack-Williams' argument that modern diasporans are better placed to provide insight into more informed development policy than at 'home' due to their geographical proximity to centres of political power such as London (Mohan and Zack Williams, 2002), Chilean exiles were able to influence and shape national and international policies towards Pinochet's government in the aftermath of the coup. Their locations around the world enabled them to be part of the discussions and potential solutions that would have been impossible from Chile (Bolzman, 2011). Support by well-placed actors in the form of union leaders and university academics to get exiles the space and visibility required, ensured that the Chilean cause was high on the agenda politically in the UK and elsewhere. On

returning to Chile, this experience of the exile cohort was central to the reconfiguration of Chile's politics and reinstatement of the democratic process (Hite, 2000; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007), evidence of its developmental impact. The Chilean diaspora solidarity-based activities were an early example of transnational development efforts, not merely in a binary fashion, but comprehensively and globally with networks collaborating all around the world.

Development was a fundamental pillar of the WUS approach to the giving of grants to Chilean exiles, demonstrating the fact that development was at the core of the issue facing the country politically and socially. One of the awarding criteria was the requirement to study a subject that would contribute to the ongoing development of Chile on return (World University Service, 1986). In practice, from what many exiles said, this requirement was interpreted very loosely, and everyone interviewed related that they could study whatever subject they wished, even poetry. Some were unaware of this requirement altogether. It could be that this requirement was stipulated as the WUS came under the remit of the British Overseas Development Ministry and that this was related to the funding mechanism employed. At this time, Chile was classified as a 'developing' country and therefore tying areas of study funded by the WUS for the eventual return of exiles to subjects that would contribute to development was logical.

When it came to studying subjects which could be useful when people returned to Chile, I think that was the idea. I heard stories of people who were told they couldn't study art or other things because they didn't seem to be related to something useful that could contribute to Chile. But the other side of that coin is that frankly, people at WUS did not put pressure on you to do anything in particular. It was left very much to what you wanted to do, how you saw your future.

Marcelo (63, exile, arrived 1974)

Miorelli and Piersanti found that '[s]tudying development-related subjects was a requirement for accessing WUS scholarships, which contributed to these exiles realising

that there was oppression in other places also and many ways in which it could be fought' (Miorelli and Piersanti, 2020, p. 11). The appreciation of development related issues in the wider sense globally contributed to the oft neglected but important sense of purpose that people derive from such endeavours. In contributing to global activism and political activities, exiles regained a sense of purpose and direction which many had lost on leaving Chile. It furthered a sense of agency both in contributing to their country's development and their own personal development. Wright and Oñate Zuñiga also point out that 'many Chileans took practical steps towards improving their lives, where it was possible, through pursuing higher education, learning new skills, and even accumulating some capital for their return' (Wright & Oñate Zuñiga, 2007, p. 38). This situation therefore had an inherent four-fold approach to development; it related to the development of Chile, it connected to wider global development issues in the form of international solidarity against brutal regimes, it touched upon personal and professional development, and it contributed to the development of the diaspora as a whole in creating a collective identity.

Earlier, I showed how the situation of the Chilean diaspora vis à vis Chile can be interpreted as one of diaspora or homeland politics. In their lobbying of British interests to boycott Pinochet's government and providing financial support to rescue exiles and refugees, diasporic activity had a developmental focus. Unlike other diaspora development interventions which seek to stress their apolitical nature, though that is often not the case in reality, the Chileans were knowingly and openly political (Landolt and Goldring, 2010). Arguably, the exile agenda during the dictatorship period and after, together with their supporters and colleagues, has been for the most important kind of development of all. Not small-scale development that allows for the building of a well or the remittances sent to one town that is seen in some types of diaspora politics, but something more comprehensive akin to current notions of sustainable development. The vision in Chile that was begun under Allende and the exiles sought to re-introduce, was and continues to be for the conditions to create inclusive, sustainable, just and equitable development for their country. The diaspora was engaging in the reconstruction of a democratic politics and a civil society. Seen from this perspective,

diaspora involvement in development, whether it comes from the descendants of exiles, from people doing ad hoc things to improve issues they care about, or students seeking to overcome inequality, alongside the ongoing work within Chile, has and continues to be a long struggle towards the country people believe they deserve. It is, therefore, undeniably important and inexplicably undervalued, however it is an essential part of the country's trajectory towards fulfilling a more holistic and measured development vision for all its citizens.

Some of the exiles made the powerful case that the introduction of important social aspects into the concept and practices around Chilean political exile was essential in several ways. Speaking about the political parties, Noelia said:

They were more concerned about Chile, Chile, Chile, the dictatorship, Pinochet, and this petty factionalism. Nothing that happened in exile mattered to them. Whether the children were not doing well, the women were abandoned, women not learning the language. Nothing! It didn't matter to them.

Noelia (Female, exile, 67, academic, arrived in 1976 with now ex-husband)

This is an important counter narrative to the prevailing impression that the solidarity work carried out in exile was the essential and primary focus of the exile organisations. In recognising that investment in people themselves was also of primary importance, Noelia has highlighted that the development of the Chileans in diaspora themselves was also of major concern:

If you see political exile, you just see the parties, whereas if you see exile you see the women, the children, you see the working classes struggling with the language, struggling with the children. The children were learning the language and communicating....and that's why I decided to join the women's group of the exiled community.

Noelia (Female, exile, 67, academic, arrived in 1976 with now ex-husband)

Noelia's comments and others in the exile group showed how for many the priorities shifted as time passed in diaspora. The focus of development became more than merely political but encompassed other dimensions that touched upon the diasporans themselves, their well-being, their ability to handle life in the UK, for the children their knowledge of Chile and Spanish and their readiness to return and take up life at 'home' once more. The women's groups and Saturday Schools were the spaces where this type of development was given most attention, as Noelia stressed:

It was the only way that the children could be masters of their own experiences.

In this attentiveness to the fundamental concerns of daily life, the exiles were giving what they could to their own development as people and to the development of their cohort as a collective able to withstand the challenges of their new way of life and an expectation of a possible return to an old one. This relates to the argument made by Mercer et al. (2008) that development of diasporans through organisational support is seen by the diaspora as an investment and therefore development of 'home' itself. This reinforces the important point that diaspora members are working with their own ideas of what development means for them, all of which are valid. It shows that there are multiple ways of being developmental and at this point in time, for this cohort of people within the exile group, this was the focus of interest driven by a personal and collective set of concerns. Thus, this situation illustrates how concepts of development can be temporally dependent and context specific and that there is no one model of how to be developmental.

9.3.2 Development in Post-Dictatorship Times

The period following the reinstatement of democracy in 1990 caused a dramatic shift in the UK diaspora landscape. It was a time of great flux with families considering their

options of returning to Chile or remaining in England. It is not known exactly how many returned, but the best estimates are that less than half of the total number of exiles had returned by the mid-1990s (Doña Revenco and Mullan, 2014; Wright and Oñate Zuñiga, 2007). Many now had children in the British education system or grown up and were married to British people, which made for some difficult choices. For many people, their levels of activism dropped dramatically without the immediate need for action and with their principle aim of democracy for Chile achieved. Coupled with the withdrawal of funding for many of the Chilean exile organisations, the diasporic organisational milieu was altered almost overnight, as Juan explained:

When the civilian government came to power in 1990, all the organisations disappeared in one fell swoop...in a period of one or two months. They all disappeared except La Cancha and the human rights groups [those focused on judicial process and reparations rather than solidarity]. And that was no accident.....it was a political position.

Juan (Male, 55, academic, exile, arrived 1974 as a child)

As well as the disappearance of funding, the success of their campaign and the political impetus to wind down the solidarity organisations, there was also a persistent thread of frustration amongst many of the exiles about the political nature of the organisations, which failed to take account of the needs right in front of them as Marcelo attested:

At the time I thought the people controlling the organisation were not taking on board issues affecting the community such as health. They were just 150% political and I thought, this is very narrow, and it's not what the community needs. They were just focusing on Chile. That was the excuse anyway. Completely disregarding the reality that Chileans are not all 100% political animals and people are getting old, people are getting sick. People have got problems in THIS country and I thought there was..... neglect...and I think in a way, that's what led to the organisation not surviving.

Marcelo (63, male, exile, arrived in 1974, student from poor background)

Marcelo's words reflect the feelings of many exiles interviewed that their priorities shifted after 1990. For many like Noelia, Carlos and Michele who had been involved with the Saturday Schools and other initiatives to support the families and children of exiles, they had been conflicted long before then. This conflation of time and events meant that there was an overall lessening of activity from exile quarters as people focused more on their own needs. Here, we see a move towards that which can be identified as development of the diaspora itself, an investment in people, their well-being and personal development, and ultimately therefore of 'home' itself (Mercer et al., 2008).

The focus for those much fewer exiles who remained active in political terms, centred mainly on justice and human rights in the period after the democracy was reinstated and this has remained the case over the years since then.

In Chile, immediately after Pinochet was removed, the issue was human rights, that was the highest priority - human rights. What happened to the disappeared, what happened to those who were killed, tortured, and to set up institutions that strengthened democracy. Those were the priorities.

Marcelo (63, male, exile, arrived in 1974, student from poor background)

Marcelo was among those exiles who have continued the battle for the recognition of the full scale of human rights abuses and appropriate justice to the present day through personal and transnational organisational efforts. He and his colleagues see this as an integral part of the continuing need for a genuine democracy in Chile. These activities are framed today through a human rights lens, having moved somewhat away from the solidarity language prevalent in the 1970s and 80s. Many of the people interviewed take human rights and justice to be essential components of a developed nation and therefore I argue that that these ongoing activities are both developmental and political in nature.

Another legacy of the active exile period which carried on after 1990 has been the focus on attempts to reinstate a sense of civil society participation through safe-guarding knowledge about the past that might otherwise be lost, as Eduardo explains:

There is this entire generation which has missed out. But this demotivation...this was one of the successes of the dictatorship. Sometimes, one doesn't realise the various things the dictatorship was successful in... one was to demobilise the population politically, through fear, through torture, disappearances and the other thing was to forbid civic education and political economy in school, they didn't teach it. And they still don't teach it. I think there's only a tiny percentage of people who understand exactly what social change actually means.

Eduardo (Male, 75, exile, teacher, arrived in 1975)

In the activities still carried out today by organisations like Casa Chilena and the Salvador Allende Cultural Centre, there has been a distinct focus on education and the ethos of contributing to a dialogue about civil society participation. Jaime, as one of the founding members of the Centre, explains what it aims to do:

The Salvador Allende Cultural Centre has a political dimension because we follow the philosophy of Salvador Allende which is very difficult to implement these days, but the idea was to build a fairer society where everybody has access to health, education, housing and improve the standard of living in general, a kind of socialism which is very different to real socialism, if you see what I mean. We are free thinkers, we are not dogmatic in any way and the idea is to remember Allende's government, what he tried to do. At that time, he was very brave to try and achieve what he wanted but we also recognise that there were a lot of problems within the left in Chile because the parties wanted to do different things and Allende was very isolated and it was difficult to manage. So that is the

aim of the Salvador Allende Cultural Centre, to keep the spirit of what happened in the '70s and '80s.

Jaime (Male, 67, exile, arrived in 1977, accountant)

This attention to the concept of education about a fair society and education and associated issues is intrinsic to notions of inclusive and participatory development as outlined earlier. It is therefore another piece of the development activity seen in the post dictatorship period among the UK-based diaspora. Coupled with attention to the needs and focus on diasporans themselves and the ongoing human rights work, it shows the breadth of this activity within the exile diaspora during this time period, but what of the other diaspora members? The fieldwork carried out showed that the exiles were joined in some of these endeavours by some newer diasporans who arrived in the post dictatorship period after 1990. A number of those looser cohort arrivals mentioned their involvement with some of these political and developmental organisational activities despite the barriers of arrival time and the divisions between the different cohorts. These were bypassed in most circumstances by personal introductions and connections or by personal knowledge or experience of exile circumstances (having had a family member in exile). The biggest catalyst for the coming together of newer diasporans with the exile cohort was the arrest of Pinochet in 1999 in the picket protests which took place in London and elsewhere (Ramírez, 2014). This coming together has carried on in the more recent education and inequality protests in the UK, supporting those in Chile.

Outside these exile-based activities, there has been a host of fragmented efforts by newer diasporans as outlined in Chapter Six; however, they are by and large more occasional proponents of development, at times of need due to disaster and crisis situations or reflecting areas of interest. There are much more varied ideas about development and what it might mean, at work in the Chilean diaspora than we see in the established development and diaspora literature. For some, development is much more about human capital improvement and individualisation, often seen as a hallmark of neo-liberal development. This variance in views could also be indicative of a general disinterest around development issues in Chile which can be attributed to three main

issues: 1) the 'broken' society as outlined in the previous section, 2) the lack of perceived need due to rhetoric around Chile's 'economic miracle' and the claiming of a high developed status, 3) the lack of civic education, participation and a culture of development. I will expand on these points further here. Countries whose diasporas are well-motivated and organised in development terms towards their countries of origin, have a strong development culture grown over many years, often with its origins in colonial transitions of power to independence. These countries have been able to develop a participatory framework and civil society structure which supports the growth of local NGOs and local actors to provide impetus and accountability. Their relationships with external donors have developed a language and means of work which is recognisable and relatable to a global development culture. Development is therefore something to which actors can appeal to in seeking support for their ideas and initiatives, similar to the role that democracy played for exiles in the 1970s and 1980s. These countries are also commonly at a very different point in their development journey, frequently lower-income countries and with a more basic set of developmental needs. However, in the Chilean case, the military coup and ongoing lengthy dictatorship disrupted a similar process from occurring and in fact, put into place a quite different set of factors.

I argue that the implementation of this particular neoliberal development process by the military government with the simultaneous destruction of the fabric of civil society and the lack of opportunity for participation is one of the key factors in the absence of a strong development culture in Chile in the mainstream sense, in particular during the post dictatorship period. The single-minded directives which set Chile on a distinct development path were enacted without significant opposition from within for seventeen years. Since the reinstatement of democracy in 1990, the ability of citizens to contribute, shape and develop the development of Chile has once again been possible; however, the destruction or removal of the fundamental core of Chilean activists was so complete and for such a long period, that it has had a lasting impact. Not only were the people themselves removed, but the institutions and mechanisms whereby people are able to participate as citizens were altered and put under the control of the dictatorship. As

Chile's development path has been neoliberal and market led for many years, this trajectory has had a lasting impact on what development means and how it is perceived by Chileans. The will of people to participate is not there anymore according to many people interviewed. The 'broken society' where people do not want to take part for the common good but are more self-interested seems to prevail. This points to a tension between competing views of development where in the neo-liberal view, this more individualistic approach is celebrated. It seems, therefore, for the reasons outlined, that a participatory and inclusive 'culture' of development in Chile has not been a feature during this period since the military coup. However, this is something which is now changing as we will discuss in the next section.

9.3.3 Development in Recent Years

Has there been a renaissance in the idea of 'development' in Chile today? Almost in parallel to the development project implemented all those years ago by Allende's government but this time with the explicit backing of recent and current governments, the development vision for Chile today is one that seems to acknowledge that there are significant gaps in where Chile is at present. The development trajectory that Chile has followed from the 1970s has moved through various phases to one where Chile's developed status displays significant issues, including persisting inequality (Rodríguez Weber, 2017). Governments have been responsive to OECD observations on particular areas of need such as investment in higher education and created the means for these issues to be addressed. They have seized the mantle of the global interest in diaspora and development and taking it forward enthusiastically, like other countries in the wake of World Bank and International Organization for Migration approval, have created the institutions and infrastructure with which to harness their own diaspora to the benefit of Chile. The success of these policies, in such things as the significant expansion of their overseas scholarship programme through Becas Chile and other initiatives, require a more critical eye to identify their effects than government has provided to date. The policies have helped to create an enabling political climate allowing for renewed interest in development and Chile's status and position, to flourish. In the immense investment

in post-graduate education, they are equipping young professionals with the mentality, the tools and the opportunities for taking the development of Chile to the next level, one that aspires to be a more inclusive and equal development. In this section, I will look at how this changed environment has contributed to a new appreciation and awareness around development, particularly amongst the student cohort.

Today, there is national interest in inequality as a key concern, exemplified by Michele Bachelet's mention of this as the biggest opponent of Chile in her inaugural speech following her second election to the Presidency (Rodríguez Weber, 2017). Debates around Chile's development trajectory, its flaws and current gaps seem to centre around concepts of income levels and disparity between those on high and lower incomes. All the students interviewed showed a concern with levels of inequality in Chile. This also occurred to a lesser degree but still as a common theme amongst other diasporans including the exiles when discussing Chile today.

I wouldn't say we are a developed country. I know we are in terms of GDP, we have similar GDP per capita as Portugal or Poland, but that's just a number. In Chile we have HUGE inequality and even when GDP per capita is around 30,000 dollars, I would say 90% of the population or maybe even more earns less than that. So, I don't think you can call it a developed country.

Luis (Male, 26, arrived 2013, Masters student)

I think the problem for Chileans is that in the '70s, or even before that with the Socialist government and also when General Pinochet took control of the country, some people became very wealthy, others the other way, and that division still exists even today.

Daniel (Male, 60, businessman, arrived in 1982, married to British woman)

Different people ascribe different causes to the inequality which persists in Chile, some like Daniel seeing it as a long-term issue and others like Luis who argued that it was a

result of the neoliberal policies implemented under Pinochet's government. The striking feature of the interviews was that inequality was the central concern amongst so many different types of people. Most of the students agreed that the development path followed by Chile has led to a country today with a distinctly Northern American feel culturally, particularly with regard to its models of healthcare and education. As such, a prevailing concern is that many have been left behind in this country where individual acquisition and consumerism is now seen by many as a given and a positive state of affairs. Whilst overall indicators may paint a rosy picture, ever rising levels of inequality are a significant cause for concern. The gap between Santiago and the rest of the country is widening, as is the gap between the ever richer and the ever poorer (Rodríguez Weber, 2017). Inequality is a concern for many people, but more than that, it is the driving factor behind much of the research being carried out today by Chilean students in the UK. Many students stated that their primary objective was to return to Chile and make use of what they had studied in tackling the various issues around poverty and inequality that Chile faces today.

Perhaps, for some people, expressing their disquiet with the Chile of today in terms of inequality is a safer way to communicate some of their complicated feelings towards the legacy of the past, rather than explicitly condemning the acts of the dictatorship. By referencing inequality, a concept which is part of the national discourse today in Chile, it could be a subtle, less politically explicit way to articulate alternative visions of development, and perhaps ones that echo some of the principles of Allende's socialism in a way that makes them more palatable for a neo-liberalised country. This idea merits further exploration beyond the scope of this study. In any case, focus on inequality is undoubtedly present amongst the diaspora and has been a reason for mobilisation in Chile in recent years.

Student attention towards development issues tends to centre around the application of their studies and future work in service of this cause. As we know, Becas Chile requires students to plan their study with a view to it contributing to the development of their country. No doubt, this is a major factor in the couching of their personal and

professional aims in development terms. However, it seems unlikely that all have simply unquestioningly absorbed the rhetoric of the programme requirements. In their considered responses which showed an understanding and appreciation of the nature of Chile's position, despite their programme of study (whether in economics, engineering or education for example), these students in their early 20s to early 30s seem to have acquired a sensibility which has been lacking in the earlier years post dictatorship. It is no doubt reflective of a more enabling environment around concepts of development which are back in the public domain and able to be discussed freely. In the Chilean case, both networks mentioned above frequently emphasise the relevance of their work, and the postgraduate research being carried out in the UK, to the further development of Chile. One of the stated aims of REUK is to support the development of Chile. Fernando explains it like this:

In my opinion, it comes from the nature of the scholarship we have. In one part of the contract, it says that we have to come back to Chile to give back. It's a very broad sense of giving back. It's not about working or working in your specific area. It's just about coming back. To reside in Chile for twice the period you were here. After you finish your programme, you have a period of two years you can stay here, then you have to go back. The majority of students here have this profile of people who want to really help the country develop in different areas, so in science, culture, arts. We have to write for the application a declaration of interest. I said that once I finished the doctorate, I would do this and that stuff. The scholarship has a kind of coherence in that sense. At the end of the programme, you already have an idea of how you can help to develop the country in specific areas, so it's linked to the scholarship.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

ChileGlobal's interest in supporting students stems from the Chilean government's investment in Chile's future through the funding of higher education and the associated desire to get the maximum benefit from it. REUK are interested in generating their own

opportunities through harnessing the benefits of network power both in their student context and looking to the future in terms of initiating burgeoning careers. Both these expressions of interest relate explicitly to the development of Chile in the short- and long-term. The language of development is used frequently, and development concepts are used to frame organisational activities and goals, with REUK and ChileGlobal consciously directed towards the service of development as a distinct objective.

Here, we can see quite distinctly the Page and Mercer (2012) dynamic of development in both personal and professional terms being interlinked. Individual desire to progress is linked to both personal and professional goals of contributing to the development of their country and fulfilling the brief of their postgraduate study. This is a similar dynamic at work as with the WUS grants which put a related onus (though without penalty) on their recipients during the dictatorship years. Returnees then contributed to the development of Chile through use of skills gained in their studies in UK (World University Service, 1986). In both eras, and both programmes, the mechanism to ‘give back’ or to contribute to the development of Chile was not defined. It has been up to the individual to decide how to make this happen.

One of the key student organisers instrumental in the UK ChileGlobal network made an interesting observation about the power of students overseas, saying:

I hope we are fighting awareness abroad about how things can be changed.

Sara (Female, 34, Masters and PhD student, arrived in UK in 2013)

Sara was explaining the conflict between what she perceived as a minority of Chilean students who believe that poverty is a natural consequence of development, as opposed to the large numbers of students who were focused on challenging the unequal status quo in Chile. Her work with ChileGlobal, delivering seminars and events for Chilean students across the UK and providing free transport and refreshments for attendees, was on topics such as inequality and poverty reduction. She saw being

abroad (the UK) as a distinct opportunity to have those debates and consider difficult questions much more freely. Living in diaspora in the present therefore seems to perform a liberating function for some of its members in opening up these possibilities. The fact that ChileGlobal actively promotes and funds such events is in itself worth consideration. It seems to fit with their agenda of harnessing the diaspora elites which the students become part of as they acquire knowledge and skills, moving into that echelon of educated professionals that is so essential to Chile's future development. REUK is also specifically concerned with mobilising the connections they make in the UK in their future work in Chilean, not only for their personal gain but for the ability to channel the synergy and possibilities they see to benefit their country. Add in the declared dedication of many students' future work to help Chile achieve its potential and there is a clear and unmistakeable commitment on their part to the future development of Chile.

The thousands of highly skilled people returning from the UK will be providing educational services for all the other Latin American researchers. Or laboratories. I think it's a big shift that Chilean people will be very proud of. This could be something permanent. If you start something, then you have a tradition. You're teaching other people, generations, to be educated that way. The kind of values we are learning now are important, the idea of inclusion for instance. Everyone is invited to the party, there shouldn't be barriers to participate. We need to cultivate trust, we need to overcome the mistrust. How do we do that? By being explicit, being honest, transparent.

Fernando (Male, 32, PhD student, arrived in 2011)

Whilst Fernando was optimistic about the potential for leadership following newly acquired skills, many of the students complained about the mechanisms of returning to Chile that did not facilitate their use. Whilst the requirements to study a subject relevant to and that can contribute to the ongoing development of Chile exist, the means by which this takes place on the student's return is not clearly laid out. Most students felt

that there should be a process whereby jobs relevant to their areas of study abroad were made accessible to them through a follow up system.

The only thing is you need to do is to stay here. Well, I came back, and I have to go to the international police to get a travel certificate that shows that I am not outside the country, but I can be a Mum for the rest of my life and that's it. I think it's a shame because I would like to do some stuff like take part in conferences with other dentists or improve education in a public university, but they don't give you any platform to do this.

Gloria (Female, 27, dentist, did MSc in UK in 2013, returned to Chile)

Like Gloria, most students interviewed were keen to actively participate in a dialogue about how to best put their skills to use in the service of their country, however the means for this to happen was not there. Merely returning and being back in Chile was not seen by them as a suitable use of their newly acquired skills and qualifications.

Notwithstanding the clear sense of interest and responsibility that shines forth from the student cohort in terms of their commitment to Chile's development, the picture amongst the rest of the diaspora remains fragmented. Development as a concept was something that was spoken about by most people, though generally not in such clear terms as the students. It was expressed in language around inequality or more obliquely around subjects like the cost of living, salaries, the cost of education and healthcare and poor housing. Chapter Eight revealed a variety of transnational links to Chile from the cohort who arrived post-1990 which span a variety of interests. People do not typically frame these links as developmental ones, however despite their scattered nature and ad hoc approach, they can and do have political and developmental impacts. The work of Daniel in the La Calera region, Techo and the small-scale interventions by the Anglo Chilean Society or other groups have tackled poverty and specific social issues in Chile. Many of the activities that take place within the diaspora in the UK, in the form of cultural or educational activities such as literary writings that deal with trauma and memories of 'home' (Chilean women's group - Lejos de Casa and El Taller de la

Memoria de Mujeres Hispanoamericanas), through connecting with one's culture and heritage through the medium of dance or music (Grupo del Sur and Vidance) have enabled development of the diaspora or its individual members. This may not be purposive or intentional development in the same light as development projects, but it is nevertheless a development of diaspora members through organisational support, something that as Mercer et al. (2008) have argued is seen by the diaspora as investment in themselves and therefore by extension, contributes to the development of Chile itself. Some of the newer diaspora organisations, in their focus on bypassing divisions based on the past can also be seen as contributing to this move towards a new Chile. The coming together of diasporans from all cohorts, exiles, students and others in the protests of recent years that have focused on education and inequality, is a phenomenon not seen before. In this attention on these important features of modern Chilean life, the diaspora is without question targeting development issues that they believe to be important.

9.4 Conclusion

Having argued here that the transnational practices of the diaspora can indeed be seen as developmental, it may seem disingenuous to now state that the diaspora has not been a major player in the development of Chile that has occurred over this time period. However, as mentioned in the introduction to this Chapter, it must be clear that I am not claiming that the diaspora has played a direct role in the economic development of Chile and subsequent evolution of the country from lower income to a high income one. The Chilean diaspora has not been responsible for or 'done' development in Chile in the same way that the Mexican diaspora has, for example. I am arguing that due to the very specific nature of the dictatorship in Chile, the destruction of civil society via terror and repression, the removal of effective opposition through a deliberate policy of exile and a narrow return to a limited form of democracy in 1990, the diaspora has been unable to participate in development in the same way as other diasporas have. It has been hampered additionally by the legacy of fear and the creation of '*desmemoria*'. Moreover, due to the swift enactment of neoliberal development policies implemented by the

dictatorship and the relatively quick transition of the Chilean economy, the same level of developmental need as in other lower income countries has not been present in recent years.

Nevertheless, what the diaspora has done and achieved in development terms is no less important. This analysis has shown that there are many competing visions and interpretations of development at play that have had a role in Chile's trajectory. The members of the Chilean diaspora have exercised their own versions of what development means to them through their many variations of activities and practices over the passage of time. These have been enacted both within diaspora in the UK for the benefit of those there, and also transnationally. The effects of such practices are not always developmental, nor do they necessarily always seek to be. I have shown here that through their sustained efforts over these many years, the UK diaspora, (sometimes together with other Chileans around the world) in all its forms and manifestations over this time, has provided the much needed and essential aspects of development which Chile's development journey had left out. These vital components: human rights, political transparency, justice, equality and freedom cannot be overlooked in any real sense of what true development actually means. Even though these issues emerged originally from the exile space of trauma and fight for solidarity, they have spread wider in recent years encompassing modern struggles over access to education and inequality and tackling diverse issues that effectively unite, at times, the different cohorts within the diaspora. In particular time periods where events in Chile have provided the catalyst, the diaspora has responded. At other times, other parts of the diaspora have been the proactive ones. I have answered the main research question and found that the Chilean diaspora's transnational practices in engaging with their 'home' over the last fifty years have been responsive to changing times and circumstances in Chile, have waxed and waned according to the cohort organisations and the particular interests of individuals within, but these practices have indeed been developmental in nature. Therefore, the Chilean diaspora in the UK has, in its own distinct way, been absolutely pivotal in contributing to a modern vision of Chilean

development which will take the country forward in its journey to come full circle and reconcile with its past.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore the research question, ‘over the last fifty years, to what extent has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged with ‘home’ and can their transnational practices be seen as developmental?’ Using temporality as an organising principle within my conceptual and methodological framework, I found that the Chilean diaspora has, over a lengthy period from the 1970s to the present, enacted and regularly reshaped its relationship to Chile through its developmental and political activities and forms of engagement. In the juxtaposition of different types of migrants through different decades, I have shown how changes within the diaspora reflect those of Chile in political and social terms, and which parallel the country’s development trajectory from a low to high-income one. Moreover, I have argued that the forms of developmental engagement which the diaspora has carried out demonstrate their own concerns as individuals and collectives that are separate to, and often directly contest, forms of development generated by the Chilean state. In addition, I have shown that development itself is fluid and frequently framed by the Chilean diaspora as something quite different to mainstream notions of it, manifesting in the language, concerns and sensibilities of the eras in question. Development here is not necessarily a specific project or process and it is not something objective or distant. It is given expression as part of people’s lives in the issues that concern them.

The first research sub question asked, ‘to what degree has a UK-based Chilean diaspora emerged over time and who does it consist of?’ I found that today, three cohorts exist within what makes up the Chilean diaspora. Built on the foundations of mass exile from Chile in the 1970s and 1980s because of the military dictatorship, since the 1990s this cohort has been joined by those seeking opportunity or moving due to love and relationships. A third cohort joined the diaspora from the 2000s onwards with the advent of a new government scheme of postgraduate scholarships. I looked at these three cohorts individually, and together, to analyse the motivations and causes behind their movement to the UK and to discover how this has influenced their lives in

diaspora. By bringing together diaspora members who arrived at various times, I have traced the evolution of this diaspora for the first time, providing new empirical evidence that follows its origins to the present day, analysing the consequences of the influx of different types of migrant and the effects on the longer established exile-based diaspora. This has successfully identified the heterogeneity within the UK-based Chilean diaspora, and the forces behind the new migrant movements of people post dictatorship, including students more recently.

The second research sub question asked, 'how has the process of leaving Chile and the history of political contestation framed the experience of being in diaspora?' As the analysis showed clearly, the political history of Chile has had profound consequences for the diaspora, with the aftermath of this history resonating to this day. Leaving Chile as exiles has had life-long effects on this cohort and their extended families including subsequent generations, and this experience continues to affect their feelings and relationship with their country of origin. I found that how and why diaspora members left Chile matters: colouring people's perspectives, their views of each other and their relationship with their homeland. I also found that the history of past political conflict lingers palpably today in diaspora, with its impact felt throughout the cohorts to varying degrees. It manifests differently compared to life in Chile, due to the visible and prominent position of the exile cohort within the diaspora and in the UK. More widely, the legacy of dictatorship is experienced explicitly, and implicitly, with political divisions ongoing and deliberate acts of silence affecting how people experienced the dictatorship years themselves or through learning about it. This legacy affects dynamics between diaspora organisations still today, causing division and mistrust. The ramifications of these conflicted political dynamics persist most acutely for the exiles, many of whom are still dealing with the aftereffects of trauma, torture and deliberate acts of terror in their daily lives.

The third research sub question asked, 'what activities and practices has the UK-based Chilean diaspora engaged in and how have these been framed, particularly in relation to concepts of development and politics?' I found that these are multiple and varied

according to interest, motivation and importantly, the period in question, often actioned through a wide range of active diaspora organisations. The activities and practices of the diaspora have shifted over time in response to changes in Chile. In the 1970s and 1980s, the exiles were intensely engaged in promoting solidarity for Chile, working with a global network of supporters and activists in a transnational effort that eventually achieved their aim of re-instating democratic government. These efforts subsequently dwindled with small groups persisting over the years since, focusing on human rights, social issues and the pursuit of justice. Other cohorts have taken part in a wide variety of activities according to their interests with some members living a distinctly transnational life like those Latin Americans much geographically closer to 'home' as portrayed by Portes et al., (2007) and Portes et al., (2002). Some people have engaged deeply at certain times due to situations like the solidarity movement against the military dictatorship, the London picket against Pinochet in 1998 or the recent protests against inequality from 2019. Others still have chosen to engage with family and friends and focus on visits 'home', putting those connections at the core of their relationship with their country ahead of deliberate political or developmental concerns, though as Page and Mercer have argued, these types of activities form part of 'normal' everyday life practices which can in themselves generate what we perceive as development outcomes (Page and Mercer, 2012, p. 13). For a small minority, their involvement with Chile has been minimal with their attention firmly on life in the UK, though this has shifted through the life course. The student cohort has primarily focused on university societies and networks that give them a platform for personal and professional advancement. The degrees to which these interactions with 'home' occur vary depending on multiple factors such as how one left the country, the ties that connect and personal situations but in general, most of the diaspora have maintained active and agile connections with Chile and in many cases, these transnational practices are indeed developmental to varying degrees.

The way that these activities and practices have been framed has altered over the passage of time, sometimes responding to shifts in the political and social landscape in Chile and reflecting the way that people lead their lives. Activities are frequently framed

directly in developmental and political terms when enacted in the form of solidarity in the dictatorship years, by people concerned with particular development issues or by students engaging with questions of persistent inequalities. I have argued that the cultural and social dimensions of diaspora practices are also developmental following Mohan's (2002) and Mohan and Zack-William's (2002) classification of development *in, through* and *by* the diaspora and the Mercer et al. (2008) notions of development of the diaspora itself. Since the birth of this diaspora, development and politics have been, and continue to be, central concerns of the UK-based Chileans as defined by diaspora members themselves in their own ways. The definitions and expressions of these concepts articulated by the diaspora at different times over this lengthy trajectory are often quite different to the Chilean state's visions of development and at times, directly oppose them. Government development aims during the dictatorship were a causal factor in out-migration and in recent years have directly impacted the diaspora through elite diaspora outreach initiatives and the funding of student postgraduate study in support of OECD led strategies causing an influx of young Chileans to the diaspora. This study has shown that the relationship between the diaspora and government-imposed development projects has been a complex and shifting one over the years.

10.1 Situating Original Contributions

This thesis has made contributions to the field in four main areas. First, it has added to the literature on diasporas by generating original empirical data across multiple cohorts that together constitute the Chilean diaspora in the UK. Previous research on Chile had focused overwhelmingly on exiles with very little known about other cohorts. This enriches the small but growing body of work on Latin American diasporas in the UK but focusing on one which incorporates all types of migrants. Research has also largely focused on disadvantaged socio-economically disadvantaged migrant groups in the UK, while the Chilean case is more diverse and indeed elite in some cases (; Bermudez, 2010; McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016;). Second, it has addressed the question of temporality in diasporas in two key ways: a) by taking a long view of this diaspora instead of a short one and assessing how time and the changing nature of

'home' and 'host' country affect a diaspora, and b) by unravelling the different experiences of past and present time at work within a diaspora when different cohorts are brought together and the impact this has on their links and practices homeward. Third, it has proved the value of studying different types of migrants together by juxtaposing exiles, elites and other migrants. The disquieting clash and uncomfortable tensions between those who share a national identity but are otherwise very different are made visible in this diasporic setting where the heightened realities of Chilean life are transported. Adding to early work by Guarnizo et al., (1999) and later critiques by Mohan (2006) and Lampert (2010) who showed that diasporas are sites where tensions and divisions from 'home' can be re-produced and re-enacted, I found that amongst the Chilean diaspora, tensions from 'home', the legacies of political division, past violence and denial, are exacerbated compared to in Chile, due to the temporal and spatial collisions that occur through the direct juxtaposition of exiles and other Chileans. These collisions are experienced in stark relief, without the camouflaging abilities of the wider diversity of Chilean society to hide them. Fourth, this research has moved on critiques of the diaspora and development paradigm by exploring what development means from the perspective of diaspora itself, demonstrating that this is a fluid and contested arena with competing visions within cohorts, as well as between them. It has shown that views of development change over time as do approaches to it, and that it is a broad and diverse concept which encompasses many aspects of individual and collective life. As such, it has confirmed the idea that interactions between diaspora and development must be recognised as a political and negotiated process. For instance, the testimony of Michele (see Chapter Six), the female exile, shows how engaging in the political work of solidarity organisations can be a painful reminder of a past that one cannot escape. Not only are diaspora organisations places where divisions of 'home' are rampant and positions of power and class reinforced as the literature has shown (Guarnizo et al., 1999; Lampert, 2010; Mohan, 2006), they are also ambivalent spaces where those who have suffered injustice and repression are forced to live through it again and again in the constant perpetuation of their suffering through confrontation with an oblivious present. This thesis has therefore revealed complex interactions between temporality and associational life hitherto unexamined.

10.2 The Importance of the Contributions

The contributions made in this study advance mainstream academic and policy thinking on diasporas and development. The wealth of diaspora engagement initiatives that have emerged from many countries and multi-lateral agencies remain limited to continued focus on encouraging financial remittances and knowledge circulation. Despite early critiques that highlighted the lack of attention to the assumptions inherent within the discourse, the academic field has not moved on a great deal since, aside from a wide variety of empirical studies which have enhanced knowledge about various diaspora and development initiatives and their successes and failures (Chikanda et al, 2016; Lamba-Nieves, 2017; Minto-Coy, 2016; amongst others). Most recent work still focuses on the impact of financial remittances (Fonta et al., 2021; Eshetu and Beshir, 2020; Raihan et al., 2021). Today, key researchers in the field like Glick Schiller are still calling for the categories of ‘migration’ and ‘development’ to be appropriately deconstructed to ‘understand just who is doing what’ (Glick Schiller, 2020, p. 95). Actors such as the Migration Policy Institute continue to promote diaspora engagement but overall, it seems that policy interest in the field has waned and moved backwards to older concerns around human rights and border securitisation reflecting nationalist agendas that have arisen in many countries. The pendulum of overall interest in migration and development will no doubt continue to swing (de Haas, 2012, 2020) and interest specifically in diaspora and development will come back into the policy and research spotlight once more as the flavour of the day.

Does this mean that we should abandon attempts to harness the so-called powers of diaspora to contribute to development? I would argue that this does not necessarily follow. As evidenced here, the cohorts within the Chilean diaspora possess their own unique, time dependent understandings of development which are equally valid as much as state led ones. If governments are serious about extending rights to their citizens overseas, not merely for purposes that they deem suitable like economic remittances, knowledge transfer or for what they may gain (Brønden, 2020), but in the genuine desire to be inclusive and maintain connections with those who have left, *for*

whatever reasons that diaspora members themselves may want to, this promises to be a better model for enabling diasporas to contribute to the ongoing development of their countries rather than attempting to co-opt them into a predetermined idea of what that development and the diaspora contribution looks like. If development is to be an inclusive, participatory process that leads to better outcomes for a country's citizens overall, acknowledging and incorporating the views of those outside the country, while recognising that these might run counter to the positive narrative that the model upholds, must be an essential part of this. However, increasingly authoritarian tendencies within many governments around the world, including Chile as seen in the response to recent protests, make this an unlikely prospect. The 2020 vote to create a new Constitution for Chile is a step in the right direction but much more remains to be done to establish a true democracy that has space for all its overseas citizens, including the exile cohort.

10.3 Limits of this Study and Further Questions

This study was necessarily limited in its scope by the research questions laid out and the defined parameters. As such, it was not able to explore connections between temporality, trauma and associational life in diasporas in depth, though this would make for a fruitful area of research. Exploring the relationship between difficult histories and present realities, we can move towards better understanding the personal costs of this to certain cohorts and interactions and actions in the evolution of organisations. The persistence of legacies of violence requires much more attention to the subject of trauma which was well beyond the scope of this study. Future studies could build on this area of work (see for instance, Serpente, 2015), looking at subsequent generations and the impacts on them, but also looking at the wider impacts comparing Chilean diasporas in different countries around the world.

Future research into other geographical diasporas could also look more deeply at the ways that students and different types of migrants which we typically study as separate categories, form part of diasporas. This will help to give necessary attention to all forms

of migration rather than those which are made visible in these debates while others remain invisible (Raghuram, 2009). For instance, in what ways are diasporas being re-shaped by students, and how are their transnational behaviours and relationships to 'home' redefining development? No doubt, diasporas from different places with their particular histories and geographies will experience quite disparate manifestations of these types of situations.

Lives lived in diaspora can be liberating for some, constraining for others or a combination of both at different times. In the discovery and exploration of a space that is distinct from 'home' and 'host' country, there are both new possibilities and old traditions that mingle and collide to form something often rather different. Somewhere within this space lies the multiplicity of experiences that those in diaspora pass through in a constant evolution of who they are and what their lives can be. More research could be done within this space with the collection of oral histories through the life course, to understand the questioning and processes of identity and self-development that people undergo and the ways that this affects their relationships to all the places they call 'home'.

10.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the temporal construct of this research has provided the means to view the UK-based Chilean diaspora in all its layers, a depiction of a space constructed of different people with multiple layers of temporality co-existing at once. Instead of a static perspective, diaspora and development looks different here, taking a long approach to see how things evolve and shift over time. The expectation that the diaspora development model places on people to behave in a 'rational' manner in response to appropriate stimuli fails to consider the multiple realities of those in diaspora. 'Between countries' can be a precarious place to exist. Some people have a clarity of purpose and of being that retains their homeland characteristics (almost) unaltered, whilst others, even those who lived in the UK for a relatively short time, are forever changed. The dynamism of the Chilean diaspora cannot be explained by the classic diaspora and

development model as it does not take sufficient account of how diasporas and their relations with 'home' can manifest in different contexts. It requires an open and broad understanding of what both concepts mean to appreciate the true meaning of the practices which this diaspora has engaged in over these many years towards Chile. The results disrupt, reinterpret and reinvigorate the boundaries and categories our field is often constrained by, away from binary thinking, and moving us towards a deeper and more discerning interpretation of the ways that the destinies of the Chilean diaspora and the development of the country and people of Chile are forever entwined.

For the UK-based Chileans, far from 'home' in space and sometimes time, diaspora is a place where hopes of connection can find genuine satisfaction and meaningful expression. It is also where those hopes can be disappointed and frustrated. One person's Chile is nothing like another's, especially one constructed of distant memories, hand me down stories and snapshots of a country that people only know part of. The links that people keep with 'home' can be complicated, fraught with thwarted ambitions, yearnings for a better future, a burden of duty and responsibilities, the desire to know oneself and where one comes from. They are hardly ever neutral, ambivalent or dispassionate but invested with a set of entangled feelings that are personal and often carry the weight and expectations of their pasts and their family histories. The links that this diaspora has with their homeland are lifelong, though sometimes made visible and externalised at particular times. People live their lives on that boundary where the two places merge in a blurred and messy expression of belonging neither to one nor the other, where a sense of familiarity can seem alien and troubled. However, it is in this liminal space of being that possibilities can emerge and relationships develop and deepen. The hinterland of diaspora unites space and time in endless new expressions, and it is here that the germinal promise of diasporas is truly found.

Appendix One

The Chilean Diaspora and the Making of Chilean Development: United Kingdom Based Chileans, Transnational Identities and Relationships to Home

Information Sheet

This information sheet explains what my PhD research at the Open University is about. I hope that you might be interested in participating. I trust you will find it useful – if you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to get in touch (contact details are provided at the end of the sheet).

The Research

This project involves talking to members of the Chilean community who have moved to the UK at any time since the 1970s. I wish to discuss reasons for leaving Chile and the effect this experience has had on your life. I would like to explore the issue of how the community has changed over the years and gather views on the community as a whole. I am interested in finding out about any ongoing links that you keep with Chile. I would like to discuss what kind of activities in relation to Chile you have taken part in, both now and in the past, with organisations and more informally. I also want to explore what the idea of development and the development of Chile means to you.

I will be holding informal interviews with participants at a convenient location, which will take approximately 1 hour.

Practical Information

All information gathered will be confidential and your contribution will be completely anonymous. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to and are free to withdraw at any time up to the point of data analysis (May 2015) without giving any reason.

If you would like your contribution to be acknowledged, I would be happy to mention you in the final thesis document. I will share my research findings with you at the end of the project by writing to you with a short summary and details of how you can access the full thesis through the Open University website.

Taking Part

I hope you may be interested in participating in my research. If you are not interested in participating but know someone who might be, please pass this information onto them. I would very much appreciate your assistance with this project.

If you would like further information or to participate, please contact me on chantalradley@me.com or telephone number 0032471960583.

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Appendix Two



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Consent Form

The Chilean Diaspora and the Making of Chilean Development: United Kingdom Based Chileans, Transnational Identities and Relationships to Home

1. I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above study and had the opportunity to ask questions (*please tick box*) ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time up to the point of data analysis (May 2015) without giving any reason (*please tick box*) ☐
3. I agree to take part in the above study (*please tick box*) ☐
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded (*please tick box*) ☐
5. I agree to being anonymously quoted in publications (*please tick box*) ☐
6. I understand that the researcher will hold all information and data collected securely and in confidence and that all efforts will be made to ensure that I cannot be identified as a participant in the study (except as might be required by law) and I give permission for the researchers to hold relevant personal data (*please tick box*) ☐

Name of participant: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____

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